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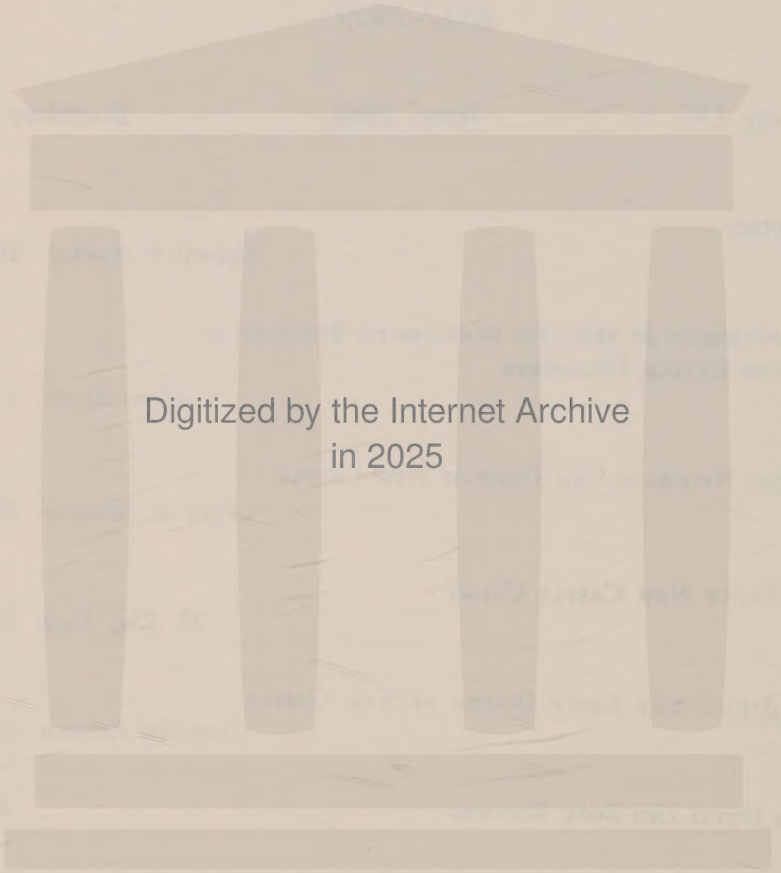

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Illustrations

COVER DESIGN: *A drawing by John B. Moll, Jr., of the New Castle waterfront as it is believed to have appeared during the seventeenth century. The details of the sketch are based on evidence to be found in contemporary records of the village.*

FRONTISPIECE: *New Castle, Delaware, a drawing by Albert Kruse.*

The following illustrations are inserted together, between pages 206-7:

PLAN OF NEW CASTLE, 1804-5

THE COURT HOUSE

THE ACADEMY

THE NICHOLAS VAN DYKE HOUSE

THE GEORGE READ HOUSE

THE KENSEY JOHNS HOUSE

THE LITTLE DUTCH HOUSE

THE OLD TOWN HALL

THE AMSTEL HOUSE

IMMANUEL CHURCH

SENATOR NICHOLAS VAN DYKE

AMSTEL-HOUSE
THE TOWN-HALL
COURT-HOUSE
THE ACADEMY
IMMANUEL CHURCH
New Castle
DELAWARE
A DUTCH FORT IN 1651
CAPTURED BY THE SWEDES
IN 1654; RETAKEN BY
THE DUTCH & LATER
CAPTURED BY THE
ENGLISH IN
1664

Foreword

By RICHARD S. RODNEY,
President of the Historical Society of Delaware

WHEN, in January, 1946, *Delaware History* made its initial appearance, the thought was expressed by the Editor that its publication would stimulate the interest in and research for those elusive matters of local history which had been neglected, or merely touched upon, by the compilers of more general history. That its purposes have been fulfilled may be attested by the increasing interest manifested in each issue as it has appeared. Since the original publication, the articles have assumed a general arrangement and no special numbers have been issued or have been confined in any degree to any locality. At the present juncture, however, circumstances seem to warrant a temporary abandonment of this proper course and the issuance of a special number in recognition of an anniversary of unusual significance.

In June of 1951 there will be celebrated the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the permanent settlement on Delaware soil by the Dutch. There had been prior temporary settlements on the shores of the Delaware, such as at Fort Nassau in New Jersey in 1623, and at Hoornkill, near Lewes, in 1631. But these settlements had disappeared and formed no permanent and lasting evidence. The permanent Dutch colonization at New Castle in 1651 left such an impress upon the generations that were to follow as to constitute an event of such an unusual nature and fraught with such lasting significance that more than a casual and passing notice must be given.

While it is true that all the Dutch settlements on the Delaware, like those of other nations, proceeded from a desire of material gain for the motherland, as evidenced by the influence and control of the Dutch West India Company, yet these sordid or selfish inducements brought in their wake a train of

personal traits and characteristics that proved most potent elements in the formation of our national character.

At the time of the settlement of New Castle, there existed in the homeland of the United Netherlands a great degree of culture and business acumen, but, of far more importance, there existed more of that personal freedom and liberty, as we understand them today, than existed anywhere on the European continent. The Dutch settlers here brought with them the imperishable legacies of personal dignity and freedom and formed an enduring foundation upon which the expanding and succeeding Anglo-Saxon civilization could be built.

It cannot be amiss to pay special tribute to national contributions, which entered so largely into that composite thing we call our American way of life and are symbolized by the words "liberty and independence" as crystalized on our Delaware Seal of State.

An Impression of the Old Manner of Building in New Castle, Delaware

By ALBERT KRUSE*

THERE are many approaches to the subject of the architecture of New Castle, and many of these roads have been traveled before. From a strictly technical approach, an analysis of the various architectural details or motives used in the various buildings would be interesting and could be enlivened and made of more general interest by a comparison of the uses of these materials and elements of design with those occurring in other parts of early America. From a purely historical standpoint the town's present and probable former appearance could be discussed, dates given, and conjectures offered where dates are not presently available. An even more studied or sophisticated route would be to trace back the sources of the architecture and to study where and why certain things have been done, and what influences led to what structural manifestations. These ways have been tried with recognized success by authorities better qualified in background and research data. If, in exploring a new way, this article borrows or pilfers ideas, phrases, dates, or other tools of the trade, it is hoped that such transgressions will be taken as sincere flattery and admiration and not as larceny (grand or petty).

With this foreword in mind, retrace with us a walk in New Castle, Delaware, on the Delaware River in the year which has just closed, 1950. It was fall and in a way we were lucky because the leaves had, in the main, tired of the long summer, and the trees, no less magnificent in their leaflessness, allowed us to see roofs, cupolas, and dormers more easily than when fully clothed in their summer attire. We left the car

* Mr. Kruse is a member of the firm of Pope and Kruse, architects, of Wilmington.

parked in front and west of the Court House near the corner of Delaware Street and Second Street and looked up at this grand old building in sharp perspective and near enough to catch some close-ups.

The "we" that has appeared now several times refers to our party, all friends of long standing who joined together for the day to see what New Castle is all about. One antiquarian (amateur standing inviolate), two architects (by necessity professionals), one painter (professional), and three "just plain interested."

The Court House

We looked across the corner of the west wing of the Court House with its rather flat pitched roof up to the sturdy west gable of the central wing. A chimney juts up farther still, in an informal kind of way, off center of the gable and led our eyes still farther up to where the cupola, its base hidden by the roof of the central wing, rides up with only the sky and clouds for a background. The west wing has a different flavor to be sure, as we came closer we began to see more of what we had quickly concluded from our first look at its flat roof. The brick cornice, of plain projecting brick, is certainly of late date. The small chimney on the gable could not have served as many fireplaces as the size of the wing suggests; its scale indicates the stove era, which was more economical of bricks, and lacks the dignity and robust character of earlier chimneys. The entrance to this wing is small and unobtrusive: a tall narrow arch within a larger recessed arch, a simple pleasing design. As we climbed up on the brick terrace, which is wide and extends across the whole front of the building, we glanced over to the main wing and were further reinforced in our first guess as to the relative age of the two wings. The central wing is of beautifully laid, large-sized bricks with a joint slightly recessed and struck with a fine-edged tool making a convex line in the middle of the joint. The method the masons chose is flemish bond with the bricks' length and end exposed alternately and with many of the headers dark and some slightly glazed. The texture of the old wall is rich and

mellow in color, as only an old wall can be. In the west wing, the brick is smaller, laid in a rather rough manner, as if to receive stucco rather than to be finished as brick. Those of us who have known New Castle for some time know that all the walls of all three wings were stuccoed at one time, and the stucco only removed in 1936. Also, those of us who have stepped inside the door of the west wing have seen the stone in the floor to one side of the door inscribed with the date of 1845. However, we were proud to have listened to the old buildings tell us their own story in their own way.

Having brought with us some prints of a survey of the town, which is enhanced by small scale elevation drawings, and which was made between June, 1804, and August, 1805, by Benjamin H. Latrobe, an architect of considerable fame at the time and later, we stepped back to check the present state of the buildings with Latrobe's impressions. Accompanying the survey is a delightful perspective drawing, colored in the original, all of which can still be seen in Wilmington in the Recorder's Office (City Building). We crossed the street to stand near the Hotel Louise and to look back from nearly the same point of view as Latrobe had assumed to make his drawing. On his drawing a smaller west wing was shown, the roof of a comparable pitch to that of the central wing. The street wall, much shorter, had only one door and a window on the first floor, with two windows above, and the wall divided in height by a brick belt course. There had been at this time (1804) a small outbuilding apparently completely detached from the wing and further west, one story and with its gable to the street. Behind the west wing was a story-and-a-half small building, which on the plan was labeled "work house." The plan shows another building called "Jail," L-shaped and attached to the workhouse. These latter have disappeared, been replaced, and all again removed except a sheriff's house of later vintage still standing on Market Street behind the Court House.

With these discoveries in hand, we hurried back to the central wing of the Court House, for another look at Latrobe's drawing had promised further excitement. The belt course

of the central wing, which as a general rule marks the second floor line, Latrobe had drawn running almost all the way across the front at a level of about one foot above the ground floor windows, and then turned it up vertically just beyond the end windows for some six or seven brick courses, leveled it off to the corner and around the corner, and then sent it up again to level off this time under the sills of the second floor windows in the gable walls. We noticed at the same time that Latrobe's first floor windows were not much higher than his second story windows, while the present ones were very much higher. These changes are very evident, with a little closer examination of the building. In between the windows and over the door are the traces of the original belt course. The window sills were raised and the windows themselves increased in height until their heads broke through the horizontal line of the belt course. Progress had again erased a fine architectural detail but not so completely that the building itself could not tell to those who would take the time to listen of its report of its former appearance.

A not too old picture shows a rather Gothic portico at the main doorway, which was removed in 1936 when the stucco was also removed, leaving a nondescript arched entrance filling in a larger square opening, which certainly had some relation to the original. In 1936 a balcony was added over the main door; Latrobe also shows a balcony, however without a railing. Latrobe's entrance door was framed with a pilastered or half columnar frame of classic origin and topped with a pediment which pierced the belt course and ended under the balcony.

The main cornice is a plain wood molded one of excellent, early design. We noticed two things at this level which would puzzle a restoration effort and might lead to questions as to whether this cornice was original or an early replacement. Firstly, the brick arches over the second story windows are very crudely handled, far below the quality of craftsmanship of the brick work below, which is beautifully done. Secondly, at the end of each of these brick arches and laid into the

brick work are wood blocks with their faces exposed. These two details would point to the fact that this portion of the masonry was not intended to show in the original design. But that is not a part of this story and our friends clamored to go on to the east wing.

We kept on then across the wide brick terrace to the east until we could see the whole east wing. Up to now it had been hiding for the most part behind the bulk of the central wing, as it is set back about nine feet from the main front, as is also the west wing. The main lines of this wing conform more generally with the central wing. The brick work, unlike the west wing, was built to show and has come through its stuccoed period in reasonably good order. There is a vertical construction joint approximately twenty feet toward the east from the juncture with the central wing; the brick work, which varies some on either side of this joint, suggests a difference in age. Also, a belt course persists across this twenty-foot section and apparently was not considered of enough importance to carry across the newer easterly section. One of our party expressed gratefulness in part for this general habit of builders of, let us say, one hundred years ago, of not being too thorough in masking their additions to buildings. Many times, as here, the general story is quite obvious. However, in this little twenty-foot section is a mystery not fully explained as yet. We talked about this as we looked inside this portion. We saw a simple, single room almost square, being about sixteen by fourteen feet. The side walls, east and west, rise two feet thick to a height of about nine feet and rceive a flat barrel vault rising about two feet at the center. All wall and ceiling surfaces are plastered and have received countless applications of whitewash. The vault is tied together with six stout iron tie rods, which cut across the room in an unconcerned manner and have the external appearance of being original. The mystery we had been discussing was the question of priority between the central wing and the small portion of the east wing. One of us discovered that the two buildings, where they joined each other, each had its own walls, suggesting that

the smaller was built first, and, when the central wing was built, it was decided not to trust this great additional wall to be supported on the smaller one. Another of us ran outside to see what happened to the water table on the central building when it joined the east wing. This explorer reported that from outward appearances this projecting splayed brick course seemed to disappear under the brick face of the front of the east wing. His theory naturally was quite the opposite of the first, for his observation would make the central wing the No. 1 operation, followed by the east wing. This theory persisted as we climbed the stairs of the east wing into the attic and found a belt course which shows under the third floor or attic windows of the central wing showing as originally built but under the peak of the roof of the east wing. This investigation could go on rather indefinitely, and the question will never be cleared until further records are found and further research is completed. In the meantime, while the past conceals this information, the picturesque legend persists that this small portion of the building is the original courthouse, and that it was here that William Penn received, upon his landing in 1682, the "turf, twig, water and soyle" that signified his legal proprietorship. Perhaps some written word of his or of his hosts of that day, as yet undiscovered, will settle the question. Or again, it is quite possible that it can be settled on the site by some well-conceived probing or uncovering of walls, floors, or roof spaces that will reveal the truth.

Coming down from the attic of the east wing, we went through to the second floor of the central wing. A wide hall across the back of the building gives access to one large and one somewhat smaller room on the west front. The rooms have nine-foot ceilings and, except for a fireplace mantel in the smaller room, have retained little of their original detail. In the west end of this hall is another mystery feature. Leading up to the attic is what remains of a wide and handsomely detailed stairway. The stairway has never been painted, and although it extends between only the second floor and the attic, it was obviously designed to serve between the second floor and the ground floor, for the window frame below the stair is

in place in the wall at the proper place to be on a landing between the second and ground floors. This window has been covered up by the building of the west wing, and the stair well is filled in so that no trace of stair or window is visible from the ground floor room. Up these stairs we went to the attic, a large unfinished space, floored with wide rough sawed boards and with the old oak rough framing exposed and in good order. The framing of the cupola — each leg of the octagon comes down through the roof — shows plainly and is supported on a frame built up on the attic floor. This load in turn is carried down through the second and ground floors by two wooden columns at each floor. Thus the cupola, due to the ingenuity and thoughtful planning of the original builders, has its feet on the ground, which accounts in part for its sturdy character and its triumphant air as it stands against the sky. Surely no structure merely fastened to the roof of a building, however safely and ingeniously this fastening was contrived, could give this impression of timeless security and steadfastness.

A steep stair led us up through the cupola structure and through a battered wood batten door to the deck on top of the roof. And there — what a view of the town and the river greeted us! We looked south down the river over the roof tops and chimneys of the houses and shops on Delaware Street, and east across the river to Jersey with the tower and cupola of the Town Hall as our nearest neighbor and rival in altitude. An open wooden balustrade protected us on the long north and south sides of the deck, while east and west the brick gable walls extend up from the deck level to a stone coping railing high. The detail of the cupola is unusually simple in general effect, the eight sides expressed in clustered pilasters and each side arched in support of a well-proportioned cornice. Each arch has a blocky molded key block, and the cornice is decorated by a "wall of Troy" type of dentil course.

The roof of the cupola is an excellent example of a style of roof for this particular kind of structure, which is not common at all, and from our point of vantage we compared its

profile with that of the Town Hall next door. That of the Court House is domed high and very steep at the base, and the domed line springs from the extreme projection of the cornice rather than setting back over the vertical line of the structure below. We looked back and forth between the two, and one of us summed up our favorable impression of the Court House cupola when he described its blunt finality in a surmised remark of its builder. "Humph!" he said, rubbing his hands, "This is as high as we go."

We all remarked that with this cupola as the remaining key to the finer detail of the original building, what a beautiful main entrance door there must have been when Latrobe made his record of New Castle architecture.

Down in the street again, we went back for a look inside the ground floor of the central wing. Here is the old courtroom claiming the whole floor space. There is nothing remaining to indicate its former use and probable dignity except its spacious dimensions and the two sturdy columns coming down in the center of the room. These columns are turned out of solid sticks of lumber approximately fourteen inches square. They have a sort of two-way entasis, in that they taper or reduce in diameter both towards the cap and towards the base. The base is square with chamfered edges for about three and one-half feet from the floor, and at this point a small molded base is turned out of the full original dimension of the wood. The cap is similar but reversed, the square cap being about nine inches high.

On the north side of the room is a raised platform, contained in a brick excrescence, a three-sided bay of later date which accommodated the judge's desk and other officials of the court. Originally, no doubt, the whole function of the court was carried out within the four walls of the room, although as early as Latrobe's plan of 1804 there was a square block of building north of, and attached to, the central square.

As we left the courthouse terrace on the way to the Town Hall, we admired the curious cast-iron rail that bounds the

east, west, and south sides of the terrace. It is divided into square panels; two graceful ellipses cross each other — one horizontally and the other vertically — for the main motive. Four smaller, pointed, elliptical shapes cross the square diagonally in each square and meet in the center in a nicely cast rosette. The terrace and railings were added some time after the 1804 survey. Before that time there must have been just a rather steep grade up to the entrance doors from the street.

The Town Hall

It was somewhat of a relief to leave the Court House and cross the cobbled street to the old Town Hall. Questions of dates, conflicting ideas of the sequence of the earlier building had been exciting, and we needed a rest from these thought-provoking problems. Here certainly is a building that not only is in a very good state of repair but appears unchanged from its original appearance. It stands on the south end of a strip of green called the Market Square, which runs north from Delaware Street to Harmony Street. The plot is just as wide as the Town Hall on Delaware Street and tapers down to about twenty feet at Harmony Street. The building is approximately forty feet square in plan and, strangely enough, the front wall is very close to forty feet high, thus making the building, not including its roof and cupola, to all practical purposes, a perfect cube. The roof pitches up to a central deck and balustrade from all four sides, and from this level rises a three-storied tower-like cupola of lovely design. This building we found to be about a century and a quarter years old. The dark red bricks, smaller and more regular in shape than those in the central Court House, are again laid in flemish bond for the front facade and in common bond with a course of headers about every seventh course as a tie course for the other three walls. The joints are again carefully tooled and much narrower than in the older buildings, due to the greater regularity in the shape of the brick.

Our party was greatly interested in the plan of the building as manifested in its outward appearance. The first floor facade was composed of three simple arches, the center one

larger both in height and width and forming an open passage from front to back of the building. The end arches are closed by a wooden screen having doors and glazed sections somewhat like store windows. After referring to our Latrobe survey, we found this plot marked as a market house, and then we saw that at one time this central arch led through into the older market house. In fact, when we examined the other side of this building, the trace of the market house roof could be distinguished on the brick wall. The market house no longer stands, and the two rooms to either side of the central archway are used as shops. The design of the central arch is particularly pleasing and unusual in the fact that the arched portion is not a complete semicircle but a deep full chord, the radius of which is somewhat greater than one-half the width of the opening. This gives a sort of squat, husky character and makes an interesting shadow, which breaks sharply from the spring line across the yellow plastered wall of the interior of the passage.

The second floor is approached by climbing a simple well-designed stairway, entered at the left rear corner of the arched passage, and which rises from the ground around an open well to the attic space three stories from street level. The second floor has a large room entirely across the front of the building, which has been the meeting room of the town council and has been used for other town business affairs since the time of completion of the building. A small anteroom balances the space taken up by the stair in the right rear corner of the building. The council chamber is a high-ceilinged and a beautifully proportioned room, with wood chair rail, cornice, and a simply decorated paneled plaster ceiling. The third floor plan is practically identical but with a lower ceiling. All the detail we felt was consistent with the time of the building. Moldings were much finer in scale than the earlier buildings across the street and had the liney quality of the Greek Revival rather than the heavier, simpler moldings of the Colonial period.

The roof structure and cupola structural members coming down through the attic space to the attic floor reminded

us of the Court House. We were impressed again with the directness of approach by the builders to their structural problems with a result that shows no bad failures after these many years. A small stair again led up the cupola structure to the deck. The deck rail we found interesting and different with its vertical square spindels interrupted by horizontal spindels to form a pleasing pattern of vertical and horizontal shapes. The three-tiered cupola is beautifully designed both as to mass and detail and crowned with a simple weather vane with ball and sail.

Except for some confusion arising from changes in the doors and paneling of the two store entrances, the substitution of large-paned window sash in a few openings, and some very minor details, such as improvised electric wiring and hardware, the building is entirely consistent in its design and probably unchanged, except for wear and tear, from when it was built.

As our party came out of the stair hall and into the arched passage, we hesitated for a moment in indecision as to where to go next. Every way we looked was interesting. As we looked out through the passage to the south, we could see the Century Club and the little bake shop across Delaware Street and were tempted to explore this street of shops and homes. Looking north, we could look down the face of the Arsenal to the yard wall of Immanuel Church on the left. A little farther to the left and looking across the near gable of the Arsenal to the other end of the Green, we could see the Academy. Its quiet charm as seen from this spot, framed and made more inviting by the big trees of the Green, urged us to go that way. On our right was the row of houses at the south end of Second Street crowded in wall to wall, some rather late in date, some earlier, but with porches and front rooms added so as nearly to obliterate their original appearance. In spite of this they tell the story of the years, look useful and lived in. At the end of the row is No. 19, projecting a little farther into the pavement towards the curb, as if anxiously awaiting a parade and too impatient to keep in line.

New Castle houses, we had already noticed, do that. Although not flagrantly disrespectful of front property lines, they, on the other hand, are not complete conformists and tip back at slight angles to the street, step forward a few inches, back a foot the next time in a conservative sort of individualism that lends greatly to the charm of the place. Beyond No. 19 and hidden to some extent, due to its own retirement and the impatience of No. 19, we could see the north portion of the Presbyterian Church. One of us who was not on his first trip around the town but had not visited it for some time exclaimed that the brownstone church was gone. That settled the direction of our next stop, and we started down the brick-paved space that marks the plan of the Market House towards an opening in the pipe rail fence that keeps the cars off the green of Market Square.

We stopped as we neared No. 19. Someone of our party remarked that of the houses of, let us say, the 1820 period, here was one which was outstanding. From where we stood, it was lovely; its plain square street wall was typical of many. We saw two well-proportioned, generously lighted windows, an arched headed entrance door, three windows above placed symetrically across the second floor, a nicely molded wood cornice, a steep roof, a single high headed dormer and a massive double-chimnied gable. Reaching high above the cornice was the nearest of the two towering pine trees in front of the old church. The brick wall which lines the pavement of the church property leads away from No. 19, while the old church, set back some twenty feet, steals a look around the corner.

The Presbyterian Church

With the brownstone church gone, having served its usefulness, the early brick church, built in part in 1707, has really come into its own. It now has light and air around it again, where for many years it hid in the shadow of its larger and more showy neighbor. Completely restored, it seemed to smile proudly at us, rededicated once more for the good work for which it was originally built. The story of the restoration

is interesting, but another story, which would take more time than was available for this trip. We found now a simple rectangular building with five arched openings on each of the long sides, one of which is the street side. The second opening is a somewhat lower arch and is the front door. On closer examination we found a vertical construction joint from ground to cornice at the end of the third bay (from the south), which, we may read in the church history, was the extent of the original building; the last two bays to the north were added some years later following closely the design of the earlier arches but with a slight difference in the size of the bricks. A belt course, two bricks high and about three brick courses above the arched window heads, runs across the entire face of the building and ends abruptly there, not being carried across the gable ends. Oddly enough, on the corresponding side towards the river and east, this belt course appears again but not continuously, as a sort of eyebrow extending across each opening and about six or eight inches beyond. The same sort of band is placed over the large window on the south gable.

The roof is steep, being well over 45 degrees and instead of a simple gable, or allowing the ridge to run from end wall to end wall, the gable is finished to a level line some two-thirds of the way to the ridge. The roof on the ends then is hipped in, giving the roof end that chamfered-off look so peculiar to many early churches. Delaware has several of these roofs; chief among them is Immanuel in New Castle and Old Swedes in Wilmington. This type of roof is a good example of a very old kind of architectural reasoning, so old in fact that some modernists propound it again as new, since many have forgotten its early origin: that is, that the exterior of a design must express its interior form and usefulness. When we looked inside the church, we found the ceiling a simple barrel vault from one end to the other. To roof this form with a simple pitched roof, which of course is the most direct way to cover it, the roof's first and only reason being to protect the interior from the elements, the builder finds he has quite a high loft space above his vaulted interior. This is true for the simple reason that an arched line joining two walls does

not achieve the same height as two straight lines, starting from practically the same point as the arch and of necessity having to stay outside of it, as a roof has to do in relation to the interior that it protects. To carry this explanation further, the crown of the arch must reach the end wall at its own level, and after that this wall need not go higher. The old builders, having difficulty and expense with their scaffolding, therefore stopped their wall, logically enough, and hipped back their roof from this point. Thus they gave the world an interesting and picturesque form of roof structure, followed all the rules of function and economy, and also gave our party something to talk about.

The bricks of the church are large and unevenly molded, being in general about eight and one-quarter inches long and almost three inches high as they show in the wall. The street wall is of flemish bond and so is the north end. The east wall and south are laid in the more economical and not so beautiful common bond. We remarked that the character of the brickwork was much the same as that of the central wing of the Court House.

The cornice of the church has as its chief feature a large plaster cove, curving off from a generous bed mold of wood and projecting about eighteen inches from the rising face of the brick wall. The plaster is stopped against a wooden board and in turn crowned with a sturdy wood facia molding, making the total projection approximately two feet. We were interested in the way the builder of 1704 boldly took this bulky cornice directly off from its horizontal run and turned it abruptly up the gable. The intersection of the large plaster cove, as it leaves the horizontal and starts up the rake of the gable, is a marvelous lesson in geometry; we all looked up and admired the result of this adventurer with wood and plaster.

Our chart reader, who had carried Latrobe's map for us, called us back as we were about to enter the meeting room inside the building. He informed us that according to Latrobe No. 19 did not exist in 1804 and that in fact the plot on which

it sat so firmly and seemed so much a part of the scene was perhaps in part Church Alley. Just why and how the change came about we could not settle that day. Someone of us remarked that for an interloper No. 19 was certainly a happily selected one.

We passed through the new vestibule of the church now and into the meeting room. Box pews, high pulpit with sounding board, old brick aisles, and low gallery were, we were told by a caretaker, restored as nearly as possible to their original position and condition as the rather sparse records allowed. The mysterious blue-green or green-blue of all the woodwork had been found under some eight or ten coats of paint on a section of the interior cornice which had been judged to be original.

On Second Street we gathered together again and could not help but rest awhile, sitting on the low wall in front of the church. Across the Green from us and framed between the sheriff's house (brownstone of 1858) and the south end of the Arsenal, we could count twelve houses lined up on Third Street. Through the trees reaching skyward from the Green, like the vaulted ribs of a lofty cathedral, here was a bit of Old New Castle worth more than a moment's glance. Covering a span of two hundred and fifty years or more, they stood proudly reflecting, each one in its own way, the character of their builders. It was evident that time had changed a facade or two, added a porch here and a dormer there, but of the whole company only one might be said to be too young to be happy in such a distinguished company.

The Arsenal

Rested now and still refreshed by our distant view of Third Street, we decided to go on to Immanuel Church, diagonally opposite her Presbyterian sister at the other end of the Green from the Court House. We walked along Second Street paralleling the face of the Arsenal, just across the street, and the Market Place. We found the Arsenal indicated in name only on the Latrobe map. We wondered a little at that; was our 1804 cartographer a clairvoyant or was the project so

delayed that other records have it dated as being built in 1809? The building, for so large a one and located as prominently as it is, is of little interest architecturally in its present guise. One of our party had read that it had been greatly altered and that at one time it had been only one story high. The cupola, he also told us, had been added or remodeled from an 1852 version. We felt this late addition had definite charm and, with its eight narrow arches and broad faced pilasters, had full right to be the crowning feature of a happier building. Perhaps the purpose of the building, having had its origin in the prospect of war, had produced this otherwise rather dull example.

Immanuel Church

Past the Arsenal, although we had been warned by the ancient stuccoed wall of the church yard, the full impact of Immanuel and its setting greeted us. From our position on the sidewalk about two-thirds of the way along the back garden wall of the Read house, we had no need of maps, historic knowledge, or other reference stimulants. We could enjoy it just as if it had sprung out of the ground before our eyes, with no relation to time, and yet time was everywhere evident. We could sense the mellow stuccoed wall enclosing the yard on all four sides of the lot. Light, space, and air bathed all sides of the quaint mass of the building, and it seemed to smile peacefully in the feeling that it was so right. We said little as we absorbed this impression.

And then after the quiet the storm broke. How could anyone put a tower with a Gothic or medieval crenelated parapet and high graceful spire at one end of a building so definitely of the Colonial period? Well, someone did and got away with it, too. Would you change it? No, was our unanimous answer. Why, there on the east end was a docked gable, truncated just like the ones we had admired and discussed across the street at the old Presbyterian Church, and someone had extended the dimension of the church to the east by adding an apsidal bay. Did they spoil it? Someone of us said it *was* a good place for the organ. The transepts, added we

felt at the same time as the tower and the spire, were again at variance with the design of the original building. The roof pitch, much lower and with the slight Greek spirit of a later period of revival of the classic style, disagrees in a friendly manner and yet in some mysterious way joins into the whole composition in such a way that makes the word "disagreement" the wrong choice for exactitude. A very early addition is the south vestibule, done in the exact spirit of the original, making us think it was done by the same craftsmen or their sons. At every changing angle, as we crossed the street, entered the gate, and walked toward the vestibule, we experienced new impressions. The tower and spire in our first view was predominant; as we moved closer, transept and main roof mass became more prominent, while the tower and spire receded and, though still the master, became less insistent. At no point did our interest lag. One of us, the artist, described our feeling by saying that he could ride an imaginary merry-go-round, suspended in some ingenious way from the top of the spire, and never stop sketching from one end of the ride to the other.

The original church was, we felt, just a simple rectangle, three bays long and with a long vaulted ceiling, running with the east and west axis. The altar end, following the custom of the Church of England, had been without doubt at the east end and at the time of the tower addition had been reversed. Once inside we could see good reason for the lower roofed transepts, for the builder not only avoided the difficulties of crossing vaults but at the same time increased the impression of length by not interrupting the long vault of the nave. The detail of the windows and the inside blinds delighted those of us who recognized the delicacy of the moldings and the unusual blocks at the spring line of the arched windows and again at the key. We missed the box pews which once must have kept some of the drafts from the persons of the congregation. Both the chancel end of today and original chancel end, now organ loft, we found interesting and again very different in spirit. The large full arch treatment of the front wall of the chancel rises almost as high as the main vault of

the nave. A single boldly treated spandrel results, carried on each side by a pair of well-proportioned pilasters. The pilasters are repeated on the rear wall of the chancel framing an arched headed window over the altar. The window glows with borrowed light from the vestry, which is directly behind the chancel and shares with it the floor space created by the tower. In all respects this end is a highly organized Georgian treatment of charm and dignity. The organ end, on the other hand, perhaps due to the elements involved, attains a rather nervous composition of gilded organ pipes, a stairway to the miniature gallery, and strangely cut jigsawed brackets. This end treatment is undoubtedly late and displays nothing of the quiet, unassuming qualities of the original central church or the dignified and studied character of the chancel end under the tower.

We left the church by the south transept door and walked towards the south wall gate down the worn brick walk lined with graves of varying dates and designs. Nearly at the gate, we turned to look back. The tower, four stories to the parapet, rose strongly into the sky — its mass receding sharply due to the sudden transition at the parapet from square masonry plan to the octagonal plan of the slender wood-shingled spire, surmounted by a simple golden cross, which seemed to sway in the air as the clouds passed over it. The south transept jutted out strongly towards us. At the moment the sun was strong and high, and the shadows formed by the arched windows and particularly the south door of the tower, interlaced and softened with the naturalistic shadow traces from an old catalpa tree planted long ago in this corner, gave us an impression of Immanuel upon leaving it, that was almost equal to our first one.

The Academy

Things come fast to those who walk along the pavements and alleys of New Castle, and there was no breather between the church and its close neighbor, the Academy. Lovely as the color of the stucco on Immanuel's walls had been, we were relieved to see that the stucco salesman, riding the tide of the

fashion of his time, had been turned away from the Academy. One of our party promised to do some research to determine what peculiar circumstance had caused this blessing. Had it been a bad school year and found the trustees in an economical mood, or, as an example to the growing children under their care, had they steeled themselves to the sales persistence of our busy friend? Whatever it was, the beautiful brickwork of this simple Georgian building has come down to us unsullied and in good condition. The bricks are small, much like our modern bricks in size, and laid like so many others in flemish bond on the front and street sides.

The building is again a rectangle, started in the last years of the eighteenth century and finished in 1811. The long line of the ridge of the roof is quietly accented at the peak of its gabled end walls with a small chimney and crowned in the center with a wooden cupola, square at the base and octagonal at the bell story. The square base seems to rise not more than six inches above the ridge of the roof and reminded us of the Court House cupola in this feature, as well as in the profile of its roof. Copper ball and sail again resemble the weathervane of the Court House. The long facade, which is two stories high, has its entrance on the center with three windows on each side for each floor in quiet, well-proportioned symmetry. The doorway is a generous double one, with deep paneled jambs trimmed on the outside of the brick wall by a molded wooden arch trim resting on graceful molded pilasters. Just above the arched head of the door is a palladian window of unusually fine proportions and detail. Its width is just the width of the doorway below. These two motives are centered on a plain field of brick, accenting their beauty and projecting in a very subdued wing about nine inches in advance of the main wall. The main cornice of the building breaks around this motive and rises above it in a low pediment. A small round window pierces the brick spandrel of the pediment in an unusually high place towards the peak. Due to the small projection of this wing, it enriches and relieves the studied simplicity of the whole facade without interrupting the long ridge line. The lowness of the square base

of the cupola displays another clever technique employed by the designer of this building in his obvious desire to accent and make his central axis important and yet not divide the unity of the whole composition. We felt that the Academy was designed by a man of unusual capabilities.

As we stepped through the double doors, we found we were in a wide hall facing a stairway of unusual charm and dignity. Our admiration for the designer grew. A broad flight rose along each side wall in easy risers to meet in a platform or landing about two-thirds of the height from first to second floor. It then rose again in a single run back towards us to gain the second floor. Under the landing was a door to the yard behind the building. The landing was really outside the main wall of the building and housed in a three-sided bay, each side lighted at the landing level with a tall arched window. Even from the first floor we could see the sprawling branches of an ancient paulownia tree through these windows. On either side of the center hall was a classroom of generous size, each with a fireplace on the end wall and lighted by three windows on both long sides and two flanking the chimney on the end wall. Light enough to satisfy our more modern school codes, some of us had heard of bilateral lighting in the language of our present day — here was trilateral. The building would never have passed another section of our school building code, however, and although our Latrobe map offered the answer to this, we should have guessed it. The 1804 map plainly shows the high wall surrounding the rear yard, and in each of the back outside corners a small building was indicated. One of us rushed to the door under the stair landing, peered out to each corner of the yard, and sadly turned back to report another raid of time upon buildings once useful but now outmoded.

We came outside again into the warmer air and sunshine and through the arching branches of the giant trees looked down the whole length of the Green to Delaware Street. Two rows of these elms are placed with the north and south axis of the Academy just slightly off center, showing the respect in

which this building was held a hundred years ago at least, judging from the height and girth of the trees. To our left was a lovely view of the back of the Court House. The gilded roof of the cupola shone with the sun on its westerly faces and the bold gables of the central portion made a lovely silhouette against the sky. We had not had as distant a view of the Court House until now. The clutter of the rear of the sheriff's house and yard wall and the two late excrescences clinging to the back walls of the central and west wings were interesting from this viewpoint. The painter in our company itched to be at it, and others of us could have wished it all away so that we could see it as it once was. This might have developed a lively debate, but we had Third Street stretching along to our right.

We had already absorbed some of the spirit of the street from across the Green, and now we crossed the street for a closer inspection. The street is altogether residential except for the octagonal library, which stands almost directly opposite the end of the Academy. Too bad, we thought, that its designer worked in the late date inscribed in stone above the entrance when the true worth of the older surrounding buildings was being ignored. The opportunity he had in his hand was lost in an attempt to do the stylish thing, which has proved comparatively short-lived. On the corner of Third and Harmony streets is another brick house, which is almost a replica of No. 19 or vice-versa. Its high first floor and five-stepped marble stoop, nicely molded brick cornice, and more studied lining up of the windows from first to second floors account for the main differences.

The Little Dutch House

Our next stop on Third Street is an old favorite to visitors of New Castle, a much publicized little house only one story on the front and back walls with a steep roof suggesting a commodious attic. The first story is brick, oversized and of beautiful texture. The front door is in the middle of the house flanked by two broad shuttered windows. Over the windows is a wide board frieze, and over this is a three-foot deep pent

eave, sheltering the old wall and projecting out over the pavement. The sharp gable is of frame, covered with irregular, faced wood siding, appearing to be handworked. We talked some about its origin as we walked around the front, back, and south side; the north side is wall to wall with its neighbor. Roof pitch steep and overhanging pent in the front are certainly Dutch characteristics. As we went in, some of us were content to accept its Dutch identification, but others of our party sensed some things about it to be distinctly English. We entered a minute little vestibule, with a blank wall facing us barely wide enough to take the inward swing of the door. This little entry gave access to a room on either side. On the inside wall, common to both rooms, stood two fireplaces, placed back to back and forming one huge chimney, which of course explained the blank wall opposite the front door and the high chimney in the center of the roof above. Behind the chimney an enclosed stair of many winders leads to the second floor with almost the vertical haste of a ladder. The two rooms in the roof offer simple space with cut-off ceilings and no attempt at detail. The fireplace ends of the first floor rooms are paneled from floor to ceiling. A chair rail runs around the other three sides, and with the paneling and wide, old oak floor boards give the rooms a gracious air not to be commonly looked for in so small and low-ceilinged a house. There is a narrow room across the whole width of the house behind the two rooms on the street side, roofed as a lean-to, and giving the rear roof an even longer slope than the front. Its large corner fireplace was designed for cooking as well as for heating. We were almost unanimous, in concluding our short visit, in the thought that there were more things to be found out about the Dutch house, and we were altogether in accord in loving the little place, regardless of its date or origin. We wanted more time to study the ancient furnishings selected from Dutch sources and loaned to this worthy house.

The Alexander House

In our distant view we had remarked about the individuality of the houses, and we found the greatest contrast of all between the Dutch house and its next neighbor to the south.

The Alexander house is a broad-faced double house, rising a full three stories to its cornice with a generous roof space above. It is of brick, painted yellow, and the identical halves give the impression of one house except for the two entrance doors. Each house is planned in the manner that might be termed the typical New Castle plan, two rooms deep on one side with the entrance and stair hall on the other side. This is due to the fact that most of the lots were narrow and deep. All of the houses of this plan continue beyond this basic plan with kitchens, pantries, and summer kitchens in varying dimensions generally narrowing in plan behind the main house to allow a window or door at the garden end of the room off the street. The front room is invariably the drawing room, the second the dining room. All three stories of windows in the Alexander house are tall and narrow, divided into small panes, three wide and six high. Each window on the first and second floor has a key lock, although there are no brick arches; the ones over the first floor windows have molded faces, while the second floor ones are plain. In the short time we had given thus far to the houses, we were beginning to ask a question which we carried with us throughout the rest of our tour. Some of us had of course stolen little side trips into some of the side yards and alleys and had discovered details about the rear wings that made us think them of greater age than the present front facades indicated. The time left did not warrant much exploration of this idea, but it was a phase of our observations that interested us very much.

The Gemmill House

The Gemmill house next attracted us, a single house rising a full three stories from the brick side walls to a wood cornice. The cornice is higher and with a greater projection than we had seen before in New Castle, due to the introduction of a dentil course above the bed mold and below the soffit. Another detail of the cornice, which is very typical of New Castle, is that the cornice is returned on itself at the end of the wall, and only a narrow wooden board is taken up the slope of the roof. One might think this was again a development caused by the narrowness of the lots, and that regulations might

have forbidden any cornice to overhang a neighbor's lot line. This reasoning is based on probable assumptions, but then again, in some cases, such a plan was followed because the builder liked that particular detail, as for example, in the Court House where lot line considerations were not in the problem. The house is again of the "New Castle" plan as we had dubbed it: three openings across the front on each floor, the end one on the first floor being the entrance door. The doorway is arched with a nice half-circle transom glazed into small panes with lead cames, indicating a generous ceiling height. To either side are narrow pilasters extending to the transom bar. A high entablature, surmounted by a rather steep pediment, completes the door trim. The moldings are delicate and the arch ring mold carved. The windows are a plank front type, with a wide white trim at head and jambs and generous wood sill; the window lights are small, four wide and six high, except for a reduction to five high for the third floor. The doorway has the usual rather heavy slatted blinds on the outside, giving the hallway privacy without excluding the breeze on warm summer evenings. Perched high on the roof is one central dormer, its arched window topped by a pediment, handled in a manner almost identical to that of the front door. The brick is a lovely warm red and beautifully laid in flemish bond. We had heard that Peter Crowding, the builder, was responsible for this house which was built about 1801. We continued to find evidence of this man's artistry and craftsmanship.

Silsbee's Alley, some five feet wide, separates the Gemmill house from its next neighbor to the south.

We walked up it nearly to Fourth Street for a look back at the gardens, kitchen wings, high chimneys, and assorted dormers and roof shapes that make up the yard ends of these houses. Our artist made mental "X" marks on some fences and cobble stones where he intends to set up his easel at some future date. For the benefit of the two of the party whose profession has to do with building, one friend remarked that it was strange how many times a building was more attractive

when viewed from rather accidental angles which were not included in the considerations of the designer. Our architects accepted this in good humor and admitted some truth in the statement, but made it clear that anything might be expected from alley habitués.

Other Third Street Houses

We came out of the alley and its episode in front of the Rodney house with its small fenced-in front yard. We had not been conscious of the fact that, as we came up the street, the houses had been receding from the curb; that is, from Harmony Street to Silsbee's Alley the brick pavements had been gradually getting wider and wider. From the alley to Delaware Street, the recession from the curb being carried on, and possibly growing greater, it had been suddenly decided to develop small grassy front yards and to let the normal pavement parallel the curb. The Rodney house was built in 1831, nearly at the end of the period of buildings of particular distinction. It is much like No. 44 on the corner of Third and Harmony streets. Next to the Rodney house and built as a part of it is a small two-story, office wing, with its own entrance on the street. These houses contribute greatly to the assembled charm of New Castle; in almost any other town they would stand out and claim more comment.

No. 8 farther south on Third Street is another one that falls in this character of unobtrusive gentility and distinction. A low-ceilinged two-storied house, brick and painted yellow, and of such simple design that it almost defies description: above the entrance door and two windows are three windows, a generous wood cornice, deep roof without dormers, and a substantial chimney. The original windows in the second floor are the smallest we had seen thus far, being three lights wide and four high with rather heavy muntins. The door, due to the low ceiling height, has not a transom but a simple early architrave trim, dog-eared at the top sides, another detail we had not seen before and as far as we could remember the only example in the old town used on an exterior door. Our reader of the Latrobe map found the house on his map, so that we

knew it to be as old as 1804; its general flavor proclaims it older.

The Kensey Johns House

And now as we came to the corner of Third and Delaware Streets and the Kensey Johns house, our architects exclaimed at what they recognized as beautiful proportions, and our painter joined them in his praise as did the antiquarian. One of our "just plain interested" companions pinned us down with a well placed "why." Here we had a house having all the principle elements of others we had seen and others we were to see later. We decided, in a problem as simple as this in its number of elements, the first consideration was the relation of width to height of the whole facade; the second was the relation of openings to masonry piers; the third consideration concerned the shapes of the openings themselves, and lastly, and of least consequence as far as proportion goes, we should consider details. The Kensey Johns house had the physical advantage of being a wider house by about three feet than others we had seen thus far; up to this point we could give no credit to its designer unless we could prove that he had persuaded his client to make his building wider to improve its proportions. Where he did gain credit was in the second consideration, when he made his windows less in width than his piers. The windows are four lights wide and six lights high, a most pleasing proportion, and this choice we again credited to the designer, although he lived in a fortunate time when the clamor for light had not attained great volume. On the detail count, we gave the builder great credit. He lessened the apparent height of his facade by introducing stone to the top of the basement windows, which are well out of grade, and a projecting water table near the first floor line. A curious detail of the facade are the stone lintels, cut in one piece, although the form indicates separate key blocks. The doorway has a classic pilaster and pediment motive of beautiful proportions. The little office wing is only one story high, showing a modest door and one window. The window sills are molded throughout the house, another refinement of detail.

Inside the Kensey Johns house we found a wide stair hall going through the main portion of the house and giving access to the living room on the front and the dining room directly behind it. The fireplaces in these rooms are back to back on the inside wall that divides the two rooms. The living room, with its chimney breast beautifully paneled, is almost square. The fireplace end of the dining room is completely paneled and includes china cupboards on either side of the fireplace. It was our conclusion that there could be no finer paneling in New Castle from the viewpoint of simple, dignified design. The kitchen wing of this house, being on the corner, is more in the public eye; and we admired its quaint character as we continued west on Delaware Street towards Fourth Street.

The intersection of Fourth and Delaware streets displays on each of its corners a building of unusual architectural importance. Oddly enough the four, or perhaps a more conservative statement would claim only three, evidence distinct manners of building at either of three or four distinct periods. These times or dates run the entire sequence of the architectural trends which compose the picture of old New Castle as we see it today. Our hesitance in including the fourth building is caused by a lack of actual knowledge about No. 312 on the southeast corner of Delaware Street and Fourth. Our inspection of this much altered building revealed traces of details which are shared with the very oldest buildings extant in New Castle, but its present condition does not conclusively admit them. The other three are in a very good state of repair, with their dates reasonably established as follows: Amstel house, 1730, the Nicholas Van Dyke house, 1799, and the Chancellor Johns house, 1823. We hope that another party, at a later date than ours, will be able to see this close four-cornered display completed in its historical progression, as we, with unscientific wishful thinking, dream about it.

The Amstel House

Amstel house, however, is no dream in the sense mentioned above. It is real, thanks to the fairy godmother of good architecture and the efforts of good citizens who appreciate

good things, and stands sturdily facing Fourth Street for all to see and admire. Its front wall has two windows, tall and narrow, on either side of a doorway of rather heavy classic design. Above a narrow belt course, close down on the flat segment arches of the windows of the first floor, is a spread of five windows of like dimensions. Directly above these five windows runs another of those remarkable plaster cove cornices, an example of which we had seen earlier on our trip at the Presbyterian Church. This cornice runs entirely around the main section of the building and then rises from each end to form a high pediment across the entire entrance front. Three smaller rectangular windows are in the pediment. In this way the ridge of the roof runs the short dimension of the building and the gable end the long way, which is, of course, contrary to the general rule, particularly when the dimensions are as greatly different as they are in this case. We judged the front, which in this case is the gable end, to be about forty-three feet wide, while the ridge dimension was about one half of the gable. One of our very practical companions suggested that the builder had wrought this reversal of usual procedure to gain more space in his attic rooms. Another hoped it had been done in a spirit of adventure. We all were glad and satisfied that it was as we saw it that day. Although the window frames are square at the head, the brickwork is arched over in a low segmental arch. The resulting spandrel beneath the arch and above the frame is filled in with brick slightly recessed. The bricks are red but with a sandy cast and greyed with wear and age. The tooled mortar joints are particularly nicely done, and again the bricks are laid in flemish bond on both street walls. While engrossed with the detail of the brickwork, we discovered that the flemish bond was not continued below the water table, in fact the water table course was entirely composed of stretchers (that is, bricks with the long dimension exposed). Below this course for the seven or eight courses which remained to the pavement level, the mason had alternated, first a course of headers (end of brick exposed) and then a course of stretchers. This inconspicuous detail is an almost infallible characteristic of the older work, sometimes as we

saw it at Amstel house, and sometimes varied in other ways. We decided to watch this for the rest of the trip.

Coming fresh from our discussions of proportion at the Kensey Johns house, we looked at Amstel house windows again in relation to the brick piers. We found the width of the brick piers here again generously wider than the openings to an even greater extent than at the former house. We felt again this trait lent a substantial dignified quality to these houses that others lacked.

The rather narrow doorway of Amstel admitted our party one by one into a stair hall of comfortable dimensions replete with base, chair rail, and cornice. An easy stair starts rather close to the door, due to the shallow depth of the house. All the woodwork, which is unpainted in the hall, shows the beautiful natural finish of the native yellow pine. On the right is the so-called music room, one of the most attractive rooms in New Castle. The entire end wall is paneled, and, being the chimney wall, the central feature is a wide marble hearth and fire opening. The opening is a graceful three-centered arch, very flat over most of the top and rounding off quickly into the jambs. The plan of the jambs starts with a quarter-round niche form on either side, forming a convenient shape for standing the fire-tools, and from there straight into the back to form the fire chamber. There is no mantel shelf, but a wide low panel with dog-eared corners stretches across the opening. The surround of the fireplace below is a simple mold, similar but heavier than that of the overmantel. A large raised panel, flanking each side of the center panel, forms concealed shallow cupboards. Beyond this panel, again on both sides and finishing out to the full dimension of the room, are two arched headed cupboards. Double doors to these cupboards open above the chair rail, exposing three beautifully shaped butterfly shelves. The interior of the cupboards are niche-shaped in plan and head and shaped in plaster. At the head of the arches are blocky, molded key blocks that reach the rather delicate, denticulated cornice which breaks around them. Another break in the cornice occurs over, and in the center of, the large panel above the fire-

place, supported on two rather crude brackets, the only disappointing note in the whole composition. Cornice and chair rail follow around the other side of the room. The room is only about eight feet high but attains a quiet dignity due to the consistent beauty of the detail that we all felt was most unusual. The wide board wood floors add to the charm of this room, as does the treatment of its tall windows. The full depth of the window jambs is carried down below the chair rail and sill to a low window seat at each window.

The Nicholas Van Dyke House

After a look into the garden, designed after the gardens of early days, we were out again on Fourth Street, and, looking across Delaware Street to the south, we studied the front of the Nicholas Van Dyke house. The second in known age of our four houses at this intersection, how very different it is from the Amstel house! The later one, which we approached now, built almost forty years later, impressed us as a much more knowing and elegant design. It was more polished, the builders had learned more, had used some finer details, and had lost some of the honest charm of the earlier house. The story heights of the Van Dyke house are high, the windows broad, and the glass lights fewer but larger. A pedimented gable embraces the three center openings and leaves just one window on either side on the main wall face. Doorway and cornice are beautifully executed and decorated. We were somewhat surprised to find that the pair of windows on each side of the central door, one within the central pedimented bay, the other not included, were serving a single room. To the purists in our company, this was a deplorable sin, for they argued that a motive as important as this should express the plan, as this one evidently did not. Sin or not, the others felt it was good to look at and a definite part of the story of the architecture of the town. We were delighted with the delicacy of detail of the woodwork in the living room or parlor of the Van Dyke house. Its hard wood, beautifully paneled doors, and finely carved mantel, with handsome decorations in French putty, all gave an air of elegance that the exterior also displays.

The Chancellor Johns House

The Chancellor Johns house, diagonally across the street, was built scarcely twenty-five years later than the Van Dyke house. We found it impressive in its ultrasimplicity. Center door, a window to either side, three windows across the second floor, and a pair of dormers with segment-arched tops gave us an impression of unbending dignity. Although it lacks the charm and a sort of joy of living that are felt in the facades of its immediate neighbors, we recognized the purity of its design and thought it a splendid example of its time. The doorway is a simple brick opening, with a lovely curved muntin design in its semicircular transom. The brick of this period, more mechanically made, allows of more perfection in joints and bonding, as well as more uniformity of color. This change in character of material adds again to the formal aspect of a building.

Delaware Street Houses

We had to move faster now as our day was fast going. We passed along Delaware Street toward the Strand and found that here the commercial activities of the town had many times taken over buildings built for purposes other than stores, shops, and offices to an extent that their former character is greatly clouded. There are, to be sure, rifts in these clouds. We stopped a moment at No. 300, the Kensey Johns Van Dyke house. We found it impressive in its size and the bold severity of its conception. We were greatly interested in the change in the Booth house, No. 212, revealed by the recent removal of its stucco surfacing. Its date, that is, for the central brick portion including doorway and two windows of 1730, is now confirmed in brick and wood as well as in the records. No. 208 is one of the few stores of Delaware Street that was built as a store. Constructed about 1830, it stands out among its neighbors for the quality of its design and the frank expression of its purpose. The next building towards the river is the little "Penn house," entirely altered on its street facade; the only mark of its former quality remaining is its solid gable on the alley side towards the river. On Clouds

Row, on the other side of the street, still stand the six houses as they did on Latrobe's chart in 1804. Together, they progress wall to wall towards the Strand from the corner of Second Street. The three stories of each house, separated from one another by a stone belt course, are graced with a good deal of simple charm. At present the row is greatly hurt by modern innovations and the individual choice of different tones of paint on some of the old brick fronts.

Again on the south side of the street and below, towards the river, from Cloud's Row we found No. 110 Delaware Street, known of late years as the Colby house. Quaint and unpretentious, this little house has its age plainly stamped on its facade. Its few moldings are nicely formed, and its cornice is decorated with a sort of crenelated dentil course to form the single ornamentation of its front save the belt course, three bricks high, which separates the four second-floor windows from the first floor. The entrance door is the third opening from the east, the others are windows, three lights wide and five high, and identical to the second floor windows. The attic has no dormers but gains a little light and air from a small window in the east gable to the south side of a sturdy chimney. A small wing to the rear, which is visible from a narrow street on the east of the building, is reported to be of still greater age. The erudity of its brickwork and the sharp angle of its tiny roof helps to verify this record.

Along The Strand

We now reached the Strand, which, as we knew, was the first street in the town developing in a natural way paralleling the river. The lovely giant elms of the Van Leuvenigh house first attracted us. The house is interesting in the main for its unusual roof. Hard to see its full extent and line from the street, it is harder still to understand. It is essentially a gambrel roof and, strangely, only shows its conformation on the south gable and almost completely disguises it by turning into a hip roof on the north gable. The house turns a broad face to the river, five windows wide on the second floor and four below with a central door; two dormers rise from the roof for

a better view of the waterfront. The cornice with its blocky modillions is unusually heavy for New Castle. The stucco covering the old brick no doubt covers much of interest which is not now evident.

As we walked north on the Strand we were interested in No. 6, whose bronze plaque proclaimed it the Gunning Bedford house and built, we are told, prior to 1730. It also is stuccoed, and its two windows and doorway with three windows above are almost a replica of the doorway and two windows on the south of the Van Leuvenigh house we had just left. The cornice also is almost identical.

Stuccoing had scored again at No. 8, a very small two-story house, but in spite of the application of this killer of detail, we could see signs of a very early house here. The proportions of the windows and the heavy muntins dividing the small panes and the wide meeting rails dividing the two sashes, together with a projecting belt course still visible under the stucco, all proclaim an early date. Interior paneling of an early type bears out this premise.

The houses from here to the Read house on both sides of the Strand are all definite replacements of earlier houses destroyed in a fire which swept the street in 1824. They, in their consistency and their quiet charm, actually produce the unusual character of the street. All hug the pavement closely, and we felt as we passed between them that we were with good friends.

The Read House

We crossed to the river side as we approached the Read house, for it too crowds the street, and to get the full effect one must trespass onto the stretch of grass that goes down to the river opposite the house. The house is placed at the northeast corner of a large lot, with its front on the Strand. A high brick wall along the street, sympathetically designed at a very late date, lends privacy to the garden to the south. At the north end the house crowds up to Read's Alley, which runs

from the Strand through to Second Street. The lot also extends from street to street and has a generous frontage of about one hundred and eighty feet. We were told that the large garden space on the Strand was the site of the original George Read house, which had been destroyed in the fire of 1824. From points well out on the open space across the street the house is impressive in the stateliness of its general mass. The south gable is massive. Two chimneys, joined at the top by a brick parapet, receive the deck of the roof and balustraded captain's walk. In the roof, two dormers, beautifully detailed with arched headed sash and pedimented roofs, face the river. The two stories are about equal in height, thirteen feet from floor to ceiling. This, added to the fact that the first floor is raised from the pavement, makes the main front wall about thirty-two feet high from the pavement. We glanced at a small yellow wooden house, almost directly across the street. Its two-story front wall, measured across on the Read house, reached only a trifle higher than the latter's first-story windows — two stories for one. Compared to the Thomas house, located farther to the north at the corner of Harmony Street and built by the same builder, we found the two cornices at the same level. However, the Thomas house front wall covers three stories, while the Read house count is two. This comparison gives some idea of the large scale of the building.

The house, in plan, contains a through hall, flanked by two rooms, reception and living rooms, on the left. On the right is the dining room, balancing the reception room; directly behind it is the stair hall with a small library in the northwest corner. The front of the building, in all respects, is a perfect explanation of this plan. Two stately windows, on each side of the entrance, unquestionably tell us of the important rooms they serve. The wide door with side lights and semicircular fanlight above, is eloquent in its expression of a wide through hall in the interior. Above the doorway, and almost vying in importance with the entrance, is a palladian window. The composition of these two important features, one above the other, is reminiscent of the treatment of the entrance wing of the Academy. Our historian reminded us that

his dates indicated that construction of the two buildings must have been going on at the same time. Peter Crowding, of Philadelphia, must have been a busy man for his works in New Castle include the Read house, Gemmill house, and Thomas house as a matter of record, and the flavor of the Nicholas Van Dyke house and the Academy suggests that he may have had a hand in these admirable projects as well.

The brick work of the Read house wall is superb. Color, texture, and workmanship are all of the highest order. We noted the stone lintels over each window, cut in the shape of an arch. Even the joints indicating the several arch stones were lightly cut into the surface. Realizing full well the enormity of our presumption, we talked of the relative proportion of width of window to width of pier. The brick piers were obviously just about of the same width as the windows, for the shutter of one window touched the shutter of its neighbor in open position. We felt, and most respectfully submitted to the shade of Peter Crowding, that a slight widening of the piers between the windows would enhance the gracious appearance of the front. We received no answer on the spot and continued in our admiration of the beautiful detail of door, windows, and cornice, which are beyond criticism. The wealth of detail, reeding, fluting, graceful designs of gouge and augur is present in great profusion, yet always subservient to the main architectural elements which these decorations enrich. This was certainly the work of a master craftsman.

The hall is accented by two bold arches trimmed in wood, which mark the position of the main stairway. All of the interior trim is elaborately decorated and again with a keen sense of restraint and respect for architectural forms, which stand out almost as boldly as if undecorated. The handsome hardwood doors are beautifully paneled and are wide and high and finished in natural wood color. All other wood trim is painted and presumably of pine. Mantel pieces are again richly decorated and the friezes under the shallow shelves decorated with figures, swags, and foliated designs modeled of French putty.

It was almost dark when we came down the granite steps and were out on the Strand again. Lights twinkled, increasing as we watched. A freighter heading up the river hailed a ferry, which approached the Delaware shore. Still dreaming of the story of the people of long ago whose houses, churches, schools, and public buildings had made such a telling impression upon us all, we found our way back to the car, with an increased thankfulness for the rich heritage that had been left the world in this peaceful town of New Castle.

PLAN OF NEW CASTLE, 1804-5

Reproduced from a portion of "Plan of New Castle, State of Delaware," by Benjamin H. Latrobe. This drawing, along with elevations of the streets of the town, is to be found in an atlas, which is in the office of the Recorder of Deeds, New Castle County, Wilmington, Delaware.

THE COURT HOUSE

Reproduced from a photograph in the "Architectural Survey of New Castle" (1946) by Perry, Shaw, and

THE ACADEMY

Reproduced from "Architectural Survey of New Castle" (1946).

Reproduced from "Architectural Survey of New Castle" (1946)

THE OLD TOWN HALL

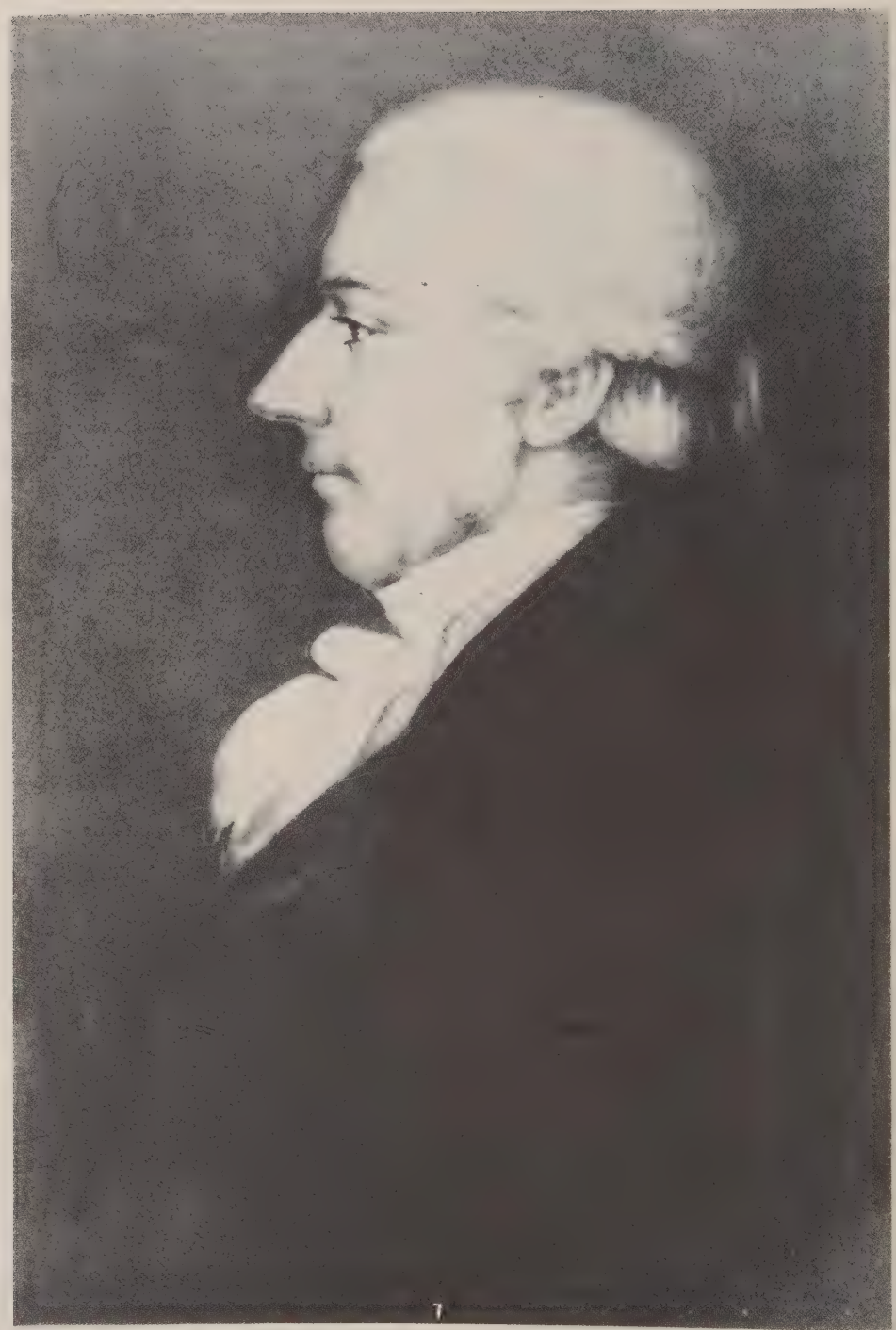
Reproduced from "Architectural Survey of New Castle" (1946)

THE AMSTEL HOUSE

Photograph by Mr. W. Norman Banks, of New Castle.

IMMANUEL CHURCH

The two-story brick building to the left of the church is the Academy.



SENATOR NICHOLAS VAN DYKE

The portrait of the Senator by J. D. Chalfant hangs in the Delaware State Library in Dover. This reproduction of the painting is by permission of the Delaware State Portrait Commission.

Senator Nicholas Van Dyke of New Castle

By JOHN A. MUNROE*

NEW CASTLE folk and the visitors who peer at New Castle exteriors during the year or wander through its houses on its annual "day," the third Saturday in May, know of Senator Nicholas Van Dyke primarily for the brick mansion which bears his name at 400 Delaware Street. If these visitors consult such an excellent historical guidebook as *New Castle on the Delaware,* a publication of the New Castle Historical Society,[1] or one of the brochures distributed to those making the yearly pilgrimage, they connect his name also to other houses which he and his relatives built and dwelt in.

It is well that it is so. The name Van Dyke breathes the Dutch origins of New Castle and conjures up visions of the Fort Casimir and New Amstel which Netherlanders built beside their South River, only to lose them once to the Swedes and twice to the English. And since his mother was Elizabeth Nixon, the Senator himself represented the amalgamation of those North Sea-faring stocks whose life and culture merged in New Castle, their regional capital, their county town.

The distinction of this, the fourth, Nicholas Van Dyke rests, however, not only upon his career as a house-builder and property-holder in New Castle and its environs but also upon his political preferment as a member of the General Assembly of Delaware and a representative and senator in the Congress of the United States.[2]

* Dr. John A. Munroe is associate professor of history in the University of Delaware.

1. Originally compiled by the Delaware Federal Writers' Project for the American Guide Series, it has had three editions: 1936, 1937, and 1950. In editing the third edition, Jeannette Eckman has enhanced the value of the book by a number of additions, pictorial and verbal.
2. The best sketch of the life of Senator Van Dyke is by James H. Peeling in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1936), XIX, 190-91.

I

Senator Van Dyke was reared in an atmosphere of political turmoil. His father, the third Nicholas, was a New Castle lawyer who served many terms in the state legislature and the Continental Congress during the Revolution. In 1783 the elder Van Dyke was elected to a three-year term as president of the Delaware State, for such was then the title of the governor, by a contentious General Assembly which had forced John Dickinson to resign this position because he had accepted election to the presidency of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.[3]

Such political distinction was not always welcome. Delaware was very tardy in compensating its delegates for their service in the Continental Congress. In October, 1781, the elder Van Dyke, who had been a member of Congress since 1777, decided he had had enough. "I am determined no longer to serve on my own expences," he wrote. "I have done it for two Years, considering the Distresses of the State etc. but now they may do better and must if they mean to be represented in that House."[4]

But there were compensations for the political life — a touch of greatness, for example. As a thoroughgoing patriot, Van Dyke rejoiced in the victorious conclusion of the Revolution and the achievement of independence, "the invaluable Prize placed in our Hands by the Smiles of Providence on the noble Exertions of America and her great & generous ally," and he acclaimed the successful commander: "The Reflection that your Excellency lives," he wrote Washington, "to participate in that Freedom for the Establishment of which

3. *Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State, from 1776 to 1792* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, No. 6, Wilmington, 1887), p. 787; *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of The Delaware State, Held at Dover, . . . 1782 . . .* (Wilmington, 1783), p. 22. See also James Tilton, *The Biographical History of Dionysius, Tyrant of Delaware, by Timoleon* (Philadelphia, 1788), pp. 27-28, 38-39, and my article, "Nonresident Representation in the Continental Congress," in a forthcoming number of *The William and Mary Quarterly*. The elder Van Dyke was a member of Congress from 1777 to 1782.

4. To Thomas Rodney, Oct. 15, 1781, Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-1936), VI, 241-42.

you have sacrificed so much must affoard real Pleasure to every Friend of these States."[5]

So, too, the opportunity to entertain the continental hero in the Van Dyke home must have afforded real pleasure to the president of Delaware, and especially on such a festal occasion as the wedding of his daughter. In April, 1784, Ann Van Dyke was married to Kensey Johns, a young New Castle lawyer of Maryland birth and rearing. General Washington, en route from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia to attend a general meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati, is said to have arrived at the Amstel house, then the town house[6] of the Van Dykes in time to attend the marriage reception and banquet. "The Great Man stood upon the hearthstone and kissed the pretty girls — as was his wont," wrote James Booth, and on the steps before he departed he similarly saluted the new Mrs. Johns.[7]

It is difficult to determine President Van Dyke's place among the factions which, in the absence of organized parties, dominated Delaware politics in his day. One of the more violent patriots, Dr. James Tilton, called Van Dyke "an independent governor," by which he meant approval.[8] He seems not to have been a member of the moderate or conservative faction led by George Read. As president, he lectured Read when the latter urged him to a more vigorous course. "The President who might be imprudent enough to interfere further [than he had with the other state officials], or so desirous of exercising a power (which must be only a constructive or implied power), very soon would find that no good could result to this State, and that disgust and much trouble would

5. July 2, 1783, Washington Papers (MSS in the Library of Congress), CCXXIII, 1.

6. President Van Dyke was born and died on the family farm in St. Georges Hundred. *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), Feb. 28, 1789.

7. I have not been able to trace the origin of this oft-repeated story. See Anne R. Janvier, *Stories of Old New Castle* (n. p. [1930]),pp. 32-33; *New Castle on the Delaware* (New Castle, 1950), p. 81; William H. Conner, "Redletter Nuptials of Van Dyke Girls," *Sunday Star* (Wilmington), June 12, 1949, p. 9; Henry Hanby Hay, *Annals of Amstel House* [n. p., n. d.]. Washington was in New Castle April 30, 1784, the date of the wedding reception, as is proved by his "Expense Account of Attending the Cincinnati Meeting in Philadelphia," dated May 24, 1784, John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), XXVII, 406.

8. *History of Dionysius*, p. 39.

actually be his reward." But like Read, and most Delawareans, he wished the central government strengthened. "The hands of Congress are too weak," he thought, but he excused this situation: "It is not to be admired that these States proceed with cautious steps in delegating power. This has been carried to an extreme by some States, but this will be got over; and the sooner Congress, by their conduct, give evidence of economy and wisdom, the sooner will they be intrusted with all necessary power. . . ."[9]

Perhaps it was because he seemed willing to excuse the weaknesses of Congress under the Articles of Confederation that Van Dyke was not included in the Delaware delegation to the Constitutional Convention of 1787.[10] Neither was he a member of the Delaware convention called to ratify the Constitution, though his son-in-law, Kensey Johns, once a law student of George Read, was. His death in February, 1789, precluded any public service under the new federal government.

II

By the time of President Van Dyke's death, his eldest son, the younger Nicholas, had been graduated from Princeton.[11] Of his earlier education, nothing is known, but two letters from President John Witherspoon testify to his high standing in college. "I have the Pleasure to inform you," Witherspoon wrote the father on May 12, 1786, "that your son gave Complete Satisfaction on his Examination & is admitted into the

9. To Read, April 7, 1786, William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read* . . . (Philadelphia, 1870), pp. 405-406. Three years earlier, in a letter already cited, Van Dyke had declared, "Nothing can be plainer than that by a proper Union these States are strong & respectable, the contrary Condition will render them worse if possible than weak & despicable." To Washington, July 2, 1783, Washington Papers, CCXXIII, 1.

10. Van Dyke had been critical of Read and Dickinson, leading members of the convention delegation, for their excuses for not attending the Continental Congress. To Thomas McKean, Feb. 14, 1781, McKean Papers (MSS in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), I, 43.

11. He was a member of the class of 1788. Samuel D. Alexander, *Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1872), p. 240

Sophomore Class."[12] A year and more later, in writing to George Read, Witherspoon asked, "If you have any opportunity of seeing Mr. Van Dyke, please assure him that his son is, I think, without doubt, the first in his class."[13]

After returning to New Castle, young Nicholas read law in the office of Kensey Johns. It seems likely, though little or no direct proof can be offered, that from this time forward, Johns had a strong influence on the career of Van Dyke. The influence of attorneys on their law clerks has been traditionally strong in Delaware and often has explained political alignments.[14] Johns was, moreover, an attorney of high standing. Young Van Dyke's senior by a decade, he had studied with Samuel Chase before coming to Delaware to study with Read. Here he soon won a profitable practice. He was a member of the state constitutional convention in 1792, and in 1794 he was appointed to the United States Senate to succeed Read, who had resigned to become chief justice of Delaware. The Senate, however, refused to seat him because of a technical irregularity in his appointment, but he soon succeeded Read in another capacity; when the Signer died, in 1798, Johns became the new chief justice. He held this post for thirty-two years, resigning it to become chancellor; this office he filled for only two years before resigning because of his age — he was over seventy — whereupon his son, Kensey Johns, Jr., succeeded him.[15]

12. "I am happy to find that you judge so well as to Education," Witherspoon's letter continued. "We are very much distressed with the Mistakes of parents & their Desires to precipitate the Education of their Children & have been obliged of late to enter into a positive Resolution to enter none in College unless in full Standing in some one of these Classes nor to give them a degree without completing the whole. As to the regular Expences the Entry into College is one Guinea not repeated the subsequent years. The Annual Tuition £ 6. Chamber Rent £ 4. Board with the Steward 12/[shillings] per Week. According to the Rules of the College all these payments are to be made 6 months in Advance so that the half of that yearly Sum is necessary at the beginning of each session." Princeton Collection (MSS in the Princeton University Library), AM 13446, P 1786.

13. Oct. 2, 1787, Read, *Read*, p. 459.

14. Note my article on "Party Battles, 1789-1850," chapter VI in H. Clay Reed (ed.), *Delaware: A History of the First State* (New York, 1947), I, 126.

15. Curtis W. Garrison, "Kensey Johns," *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 76; Read, *Read*, pp. 571-72.

The senior Johns was a Federalist in politics, as were his tutors, Chase and Read; a Federalist Van Dyke became also when he entered the practice of law in the 1790's. In 1792 he married Mary Van Leuvenigh, daughter of Zachariah Van Leuvenigh, another of New Castle's famed householders.[16] In 1799 he bought a plot of land from the estate of Gunning Bedford, brother-in-law of George Read, and built upon it the house which bears his name today, directly across Delaware Street from the Amstel house where he had been reared, and a block away from the house Kensey Johns had built ten years earlier. Two decades later, across Delaware Street from the Johns house, Van Dyke built a home for his son, Kensey Johns Van Dyke (there was also a Van Dyke Johns), while catercorner from the Senator Van Dyke house in three years more appeared the home of his nephew, Kensey Johns, Jr. Farther east on Delaware Street, facing the Court House, was the home of Mrs. Van Dyke's brother-in-law, John Bird — however, let this domiciliary narrative stop here, lest more complicating relationships appear in a swing around the Green or down the Strand.[17] But yet one note: house servants developed a neighborliness too; in November, 1796, Violet, a slave of Nicholas Van Dyke, was married to Jonas, a slave of James Booth, who lived a block away — on Delaware Street, of course.[18]

III

Gradually Nicholas Van Dyke was drawn into public office. In 1797 he was appointed by the General Assembly to a commission of five, which was to survey the town, fix its boundaries, prepare a map, lay out streets, pave sidewalks,

16. Van Dyke Family Papers (MSS in the library of Historical Society of Delaware). Confusion over the interrelationship of New Castle folk is apparently responsible for the statement in the sketch of Van Dyke in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 190, that he was married to Mary Johns.

17. Other Van Dykes did not remain on as friendly terms as Nicholas with their brother-in-law, Kensey Johns. The latter was sued, unsuccessfully, by the rest of the family for his management of the president's estate. Van Dyke *et al. v.* Johns, in Daniel M. Bates, *Reports of Cases Adjudged and Determined in the Court of Chancery, of the State of Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1876), I, 93-112.

18. Thomas Holcomb, *Sketch of Early Ecclesiastical Affairs in New Castle, Delaware, and History of Immanuel Church* (Wilmington, 1890), p. 237.

and regulate fences, walls, and building lines.[19] A year later he was elected to the lower house of the General Assembly as a representative from New Castle County. It was not an easy election for a Federalist to win, and it was to become harder still. Indeed only once again was Van Dyke to win an election that depended solely on his county, for New Castle County was becoming the Democratic-Republican stronghold in Delaware, whereas Kent and Sussex were to be as strongly Federalist. That Van Dyke won his county at all was some tribute to his personal popularity and may account in part for the willingness of his party to run him in a state-wide contest, for the Federalist who could reduce the usual Republican majority in New Castle County was sure to carry the state. His Presbyterianism doubtless was of political value to him; his county was almost as Calvinist as it was Republican, and the two were conjoined. The Scotch-Irish of New Castle County considered the Federalists to be an Episcopalian and Methodist party, but they frequently were willing to cut party lines when a man of their faith was run by the opposition. Far more important than any such consideration in 1798, however, was the general tendency to support the administration in view of the quasi-war with France, a country generally supposed to be the cynosure of Republicans.

As a representative in the General Assembly, Van Dyke voted on the Federal side on all national issues. He favored, for example, a resolution to wish President Adams good health, a resolution which three Republican representatives from New Castle County opposed. He led opposition to the first Kentucky Resolution, an act of the Kentucky legislature protesting the Alien and Sedition Acts of a Federalist Congress, declaring them unconstitutional, enunciating a doctrine of strict interpretation of the Constitution, and thereby claiming the right of a state legislature on such grounds to nullify acts of Congress. This resolution, secretly the work of Thomas Jefferson, was circulated by Kentucky to other state legisla-

19. *New Castle on the Delaware*, p. 42. A set of maps and of water-color drawings of houses and other buildings as they appeared in 1804 was the valuable outcome of this survey. Bayard Wootten and Anthony Higgins, *New Castle, Delaware, 1651-1939* (Boston, 1939), p. 22.

tures in the hope of gaining their concurrence. The Delaware General Assembly referred it to a committee consisting of Van Dyke, John Vining, and William Hill Wells, good Federalists all — and all United States senators at one time or another. For that committee Van Dyke reported that the resolution was "a very unjustifiable interference with the General Government and Constituted Authorities of the United States, and of dangerous tendency, and therefore not a fit subject for the further consideration of this House."[20]

New Castle County soon resumed its Republican ways, and so Van Dyke was not returned to the legislature. He did not long forego public service, however; soon after he left the legislature he became attorney-general of Delaware, by appointment, for this office was not elective then. Though he held state office, his local roots were plunged still deeper. He became a trustee of the New Castle Academy, which was conducted in the building still standing on the Green. He was enrolled as a member of the Union Fire Company of New Castle.[21] In 1801 he purchased the "Hermitage," an estate of 141 acres close to New Castle, and later he built a large addition to the summer home there.[22] In 1801, also, he aided the establishment of a ferry at New Castle by urging Caesar A. Rodney, his friend at law and enemy at politics, to use his influence in the legislature in this behalf.

In the light — or, as one could more appropriately say — under the arc of the approaching discontinuance of that ancient ferry, a quotation or two from his letter to Rodney may be forgiven. "A ferry at New Castle, over the Delaware," he declared, ". . . will be of general Benefit, . . . conducive to the general Good. I cannot but view it as deserving of the Countenance of the Legislature & doubt not it will receive

20. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware . . . 1799* (Wilmington, 1799), pp. 14, 28, 37.

21. J. Thomas Scharf, *et al.*, *History of Delaware, 1609-1888* (Philadelphia, 1888), II, 863, 878.

22. *New Castle on the Delaware*, p. 102. In 1808 he advertised for "a sober and industrious man, who can be well recommended, to work upon and manage a small Farm near the town of New-Castle." *Museum of Delaware* (Wilmington), Jan. 23, 1808.

their general assent. At all events it has my wishes — & as far as you may think well of it I shall thank you to take part in explaining the principles on which it is intended to operate — so that it may not be rejected on the ground of prejudice or misunderstanding, which sometimes excludes a calm inquiry into the merits of a measure."[23]

The General Assembly was favorable, acknowledging "the great inconvenience" suffered for years "from the want of a well regulated ferry at the town of New Castle" and granting a twenty-one-year monopoly to the owner of "the brick house and wharf . . . commonly called 'The old ferry,' " subject to penalties for using bad boats, delaying passengers, and landing in a disorderly manner. When "a large mud-flat" formed alongside the wharf, the monopoly was extended to thirty-one years to compensate the proprietor for extending the ferry slip farther into the river.[24]

In August of 1807, James M. Broom, a Federalist attorney of Wilmington, announced that he had moved to Baltimore and consequently had resigned his seat in Congress.[25] This brought to Van Dyke an opportunity to enter national politics. A special election was called by the governor, and Van Dyke was nominated to succeed Broom by a Federalist state committee — no state conventions yet being held.[26]

This election has an unusual interest to Delawareans, because to oppose Van Dyke the Republicans brought from

23. Jan. 13, 1801, Van Dyke Papers (MSS in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware).

24. Rates were fixed by law; sixty cents was the fee charged an unaccompanied person. *Laws of the State of Delaware . . .* (Wilmington, 1816), III [1798-1805], 157, 310-15; IV [1806-1813], 404-7. This was by no means the first ferry at New Castle. In 1793 George Monro, James Monro, and James McCallmont asked the legislature for a ferrying monopoly on the ground that George Monro had operated a ferry for years under a patent which had been accidentally burned in 1776. The request was not granted, for thirty-five men, including Nicholas Van Dyke and Kensey Johns, protested that such a monopoly would hinder the "growing and beneficial trade" between New Castle and New Jersey. Undated petitions in folders marked "1793, Legislature, Petitions, Transportation," Legislative Papers (MSS in the Delaware State Archives, Dover). The McCallmont who was thwarted in 1793 was the same petitioner to whose aid Senator Van Dyke came in 1801.

25. *Museum*, Aug. 8, 1807.

26. *Museum*, Sept. 26, 1807; *Governor's Register, State of Delaware . . . 1674 to 1851* (Wilmington, 1926), I, 63.

retirement the most famous statesman in Delaware, the wise and benevolent but aged John Dickinson. They had sought in the past to persuade Dickinson to run for office, but, except for his participation in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the Delaware convention of 1791, he had refused to contest any election in this state since he had been replaced as its president by Van Dyke's father. And since Van Dyke and the Federalist ticket were victorious, it is an odd coincidence that the Van Dykes, father and son, were the instruments by whom Dickinson was kept from political office in Delaware through the last quarter century of his life.

The Republicans were hopeful of winning the election, for their ticket coupled Dickinson with Joseph Haslet, the son of a Revolutionary martyr, for governor, and they hoped to capitalize on the anti-English war fever that resulted from the unprovoked attack of an English ship on the American frigate "Chesapeake." The Delaware Federalists, however, had belied their Anglophile reputation by joining in castigation of this attack, and they profited in New Castle County, especially, by a quarrel between Wilmington and the Christiana River towns, Newport and Christiana, over the erection of a drawbridge at Wilmington. The bridge was built, at the lower end of Market Street, but the upriver towns felt that it would seriously impede their commerce, and since Wilmington was a Republican citadel, the Republicans were blamed. Van Dyke, of New Castle, was out of this controversy.[27] He may have been further aided by a Federalist charge that Dickinson was on the ticket only to help the other Republican candidates and that even if elected he would not go to Congress because of his age.[28]

Through the next four years at Washington — for he won re-election over Joseph Haslet in 1808 — Van Dyke played

27. *Laws of the State of Delaware* . . . IV[1806-1813], 59-74; Benjamin Ferris, *A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware* . . . (Wilmington, 1846), pp. 240-41; Elizabeth Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington* . . . (Philadelphia, 1851), pp. 272-73; *American Watchman* (Wilmington), Aug. 2, 1809; *Museum*, Sept. 26, Oct. 10, 1807. Unfortunately, the *Museum* was the only paper published in Delaware during the autumn of 1807, and it published little political news.

28. *Museum*, Sept. 5, 1807. Dickinson could not have served out the term for he died in 1808.

the part of a Federalist and a patriot. He wished to preserve peace, but he felt the Jefferson and Madison administrations were leading the nation to war; he wished to maintain his country's military defences and its prosperity, and he thought both were neglected. He opposed Jefferson's embargo on foreign trade as injurious to Americans and urged a new commercial treaty with England: "Ours," he said, "is a peace Government, and is not well calculated for offensive war." The government had cause for war, but it was unprepared, "without an army; without ships; with a scanty supply of ordnance and military stores."[29] He originally supported Jefferson's desire for a navy of gunboats, hesitantly, but preferred to "err on the right side, because it was a measure intended to place his country in a state of defence."[30] Later he urged that the gunboats be sold as unfit for war and unnecessary for peace. He decried the administration's evident willingness to rely on the militia for war, and he opposed sending men of twenty-one to twenty-five years to militia camps, for "if he wished to do the greatest possible injury to a young man of that age he would place him in a camp." He wanted the age limit for militia service raised, and he wished the Marine Corps enlarged, however.[31]

After the Democratic-Republican national victory in 1808 and Madison's succession to the presidency, it became discouraging to a Federalist Congressman to be in what seemed a perpetual minority. Both Van Dyke and Senator James A. Bayard frequently yielded to the temptation to cut short their attendance at Congress in order to conduct their law business at home. Political enemies were quick to notice. "Gentlemen, where are you? Are you at your posts?" queried "A

29. *Annals of Congress: The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States* . . . (Washington, 1853), 10th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 1288-1301; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States* . . ., 10th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 439, 452, 566; Van Dyke to John Bellach, Washington, Mar. 29, 1808, Van Dyke Papers. Van Dyke supported bank incorporations as strongly as he came to oppose embargoes on foreign commerce. *Journal of the House*, 11th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 194, 200, 205, 336; 3d Sess., pp. 501, 516, 523, 525, 543-46.

30. *Annals of Congress*, 10th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1132-33.

31. *Ibid.*, 10th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1511; 11th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 1662; *Journal of the House*, 10th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 587; 11th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 301, 304, 319.

Friend to Free Trade" in the *Watchman* for December 2, 1809. "Our delegates *for* Congress, at the present most important crisis," another attack read, "as if dead to every public virtue, and equally regardless of the interests of their constituents and of their duty, are strolling the streets of Wilmington and New-Castle." Even the Grand Jury — undoubtedly a group of Republicans — of New Castle County drew up a presentment against them which declared it "highly improper, that those who are chosen to represent this state in the councils of the union should withhold their services."[32]

Apparently Van Dyke, like his father before him, decided that he could not further sacrifice his interests in public service, especially since the country was following a party and a policy he did not approve. At any rate, he refused to seek re-election. Perhaps his refusal is a measure of his political wisdom; his party lost the governorship for only the second time in history, and it retained the congressional seat by a plurality of but seventeen votes. Henry M. Ridgely, of Kent County, was chosen to succeed Van Dyke, who now retired to private life.[33]

IV

To a man as interested in his home as Van Dyke and to one who drew his family together around Delaware Street as though it were a hearthstone, relief from winters in District of Columbia boarding houses must have been an agreeable change.[34] In 1810 he had bought the Booth house down the

32. *Watchman*, Dec. 2, 16, 1809; *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), Dec. 16, 1809.

33. *Watchman*, Oct. 10, 13, 1810. As early as May, 1810, it was rumored that Van Dyke would not seek re-election. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1810. It would have been an unpropitious time for a New Castle candidate, especially, for a Newport bridge project, purportedly instigated by New Castle, was raising as much furor in the county as the Wilmington bridge issue once had. Wilmington and Christiana, the towns which had bridges, were supporting a counter-proposal to move the courts from New Castle. G. R. Massey to Jeremiah Lewden *et al.*, Jan. 22, [1810?], Lewden Family Papers (MSS in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware); petition in folder "1810, Jan., Legislature, Petitions, Misc.," Legislative Papers; depositions of Daniel Smith and Daniel Holmes, Legal Documents (MSS in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware); *Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1810.

34. The dismay of his successor's family at the long absences required by congressional service is detailed in the correspondence of Henry M. Ridgely, soon to be published in the second volume of *A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters, 1742-1899, in the Delaware State Archives*, edited by Leon deValinger, Jr., and Virginia E. Shaw.

street after the sudden death of his wife's brother-in-law, John Bird, who lived there, and at almost the same time he took under his guardianship and into his home that man's son, Robert Montgomery Bird, later famed as professor of medicine, editor, novelist, and playwright.[35] Death struck closer to Van Dyke, and savagely. His eldest daughter, Ann, died in 1814; his eldest son, a fifth Nicholas, a lawyer too, in 1820.[36]

At the other extreme of a family's emotional life, there were gay scenes, too, in the Van Dyke household. The most remarkable of these was the wedding of the Senator's daughter, Dorcas Montgomery Van Dyke, to Charles Irénée duPont, son of Victor duPont and grandson of the *philosophe,* duPont de Nemours; it was celebrated on October 6, 1824, in the presence of "General La Fayette and suite."[37] It is by an odd chance that Washington and his lieutenant should have graced Van Dyke nuptials forty years apart, but it reveals the continuing political and social eminence of the family.

Public and private office still claimed the head of that house. During the War of 1812 he was a captain in the local militia.[38] He was an elder in the Presbyterian Church, a director of the New Castle branch of the Farmers (the state) Bank; in 1824, when a disastrous fire swept New Castle, he appealed, successfully, to the city council of Boston to reciprocate the friendship New Castle had shown Boston a half-century earlier when his father and George Read had collected nine hundred dollars in their town for the victims of the Boston

35. Clement E. Foust, *The Life and Dramatic Works of Robert Montgomery Bird* (New York, 1919), p. 6.

36. *Gazette,* Oct. 4, 1814; *Watchman,* June 28, 1820. A fascinating story of Ann Van Dyke and of the Gilbert Stuart portrait of her is told by Elizabeth Booth in her *Reminiscences* (New Castle, 1884), pp. 74-75.

37. *Watchman,* Oct. 8, 1824. On his triumphal tour of America, Lafayette left Wilmington, where he had been entertained at dinner in the Town Hall, now the property of the Historical Society, for New Castle at five P. M. He arrived at Frenchtown Maryland, on the Elk River, at two in the morning and embarked for Baltimore. *Ibid.*

38. Record of a court martial held at New Castle, Dec. 10, 1814, certified by Ns. Van Dyke, Captn., Jan. 26, 1815, Van Dyke Papers.

Port Bill.[39] And he became a senator, first in the General Assembly of Delaware and then in the Congress of the United States.

Van Dyke was returned to the General Assembly by election to a three-year term as senator from New Castle County in 1815. Delaware was one of the few states where the Federalists gained rather than lost strength as a result of the war just concluded with Britain. The Delaware Federalists were untainted with the secessionist impulses of New England; they had supported the war effort and denounced the slothful conduct of the administration, particularly insofar as it left the coast unprotected; they gloried in each victory of the navy, as the child of Federalist policy, and they pointed with local pride to the victories of Thomas Macdonough and Jacob Jones; they even credited the establishment of peace to the presence at Ghent of their own giant, James Bayard. Nevertheless Van Dyke's victory was a personal triumph, for he was the only Federalist to carry his county, where even such stalwarts as Louis McLane and James Broom were defeated.[40]

In the General Assembly Van Dyke supported bills for the extension of turnpikes, for the construction of a bridge at Newport, for the reassessment of Delaware to the advantage of his county, and for the incorporation of a Pencader Mechanics' Association and the New Castle Female Benevolent Society (in order to found a "charity school" in New Castle), and he served on a committee to investigate the possible purchase of a building in Dover for a state archive, "to become a place of deposit and safekeeping for the State papers."[41]

39. John B. Spotswood, *An Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church in New Castle, Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 34; Scharf, *History of Delaware*, II, 863, 867. His homes are standing evidence of his financial success. In 1819 he had $6,000 invested in stock of the United States; a year later he added to his farm by a $1,200 land purchase while he was building the Kensey Johns Van Dyke house. Power of attorney to James Broom, July 17, 1819, Moore Autograph Collection (MSS in the Princeton University Library), Vol. VI; indenture, James McCallmont to Van Dyke, May 8, 1820, Van Dyke Papers.

40. *Gazette*, Feb. 28, Oct. 10, 12, 1815. Van Dyke defeated George R. Massey.

41. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Delaware . . . 1816* (Wilmington, 1816), pp. 36, 57, 73, 99, 147, 153, 164, 177; *ibid., 1817*, pp. 47, 90, 125. In a curious passage, Van Dyke joshed the lower house for its use of a Latin phrase. *Ibid., 1816*, p. 180.

His Assembly service was cut short one year before the end of his term, however, by his election to the United States Senate to succeed William Hill Wells, after a close vote. Wells and Van Dyke, both Federalists, were almost even on the first ballot, and it seems to have been only by the support of the small Democratic-Republican minority that Van Dyke triumphed. For effecting this victory, his friend, Caesar A. Rodney, the leading Republican assemblyman, may have been responsible.[42]

Although Van Dyke went to the United States Senate at a time when the Federalist remnant there was pitifully weak and when Federalist Delaware, in terms of party organization, seemed almost an anachronism among the states,[43] two factors gave Delaware's congressmen a peculiar importance. First, the overwhelming majority possessed by the Democratic-Republicans in Congress weakened their organization and eased the way to party schism. Second, the Democratic-Republican party, or at least a powerful segment thereof, now long entrenched in power, seemed to have lost their former fear of the central government and to have adopted Federalist views: as, for example, a national bank, the Jay Treaty, a tariff, internal improvements, a navy, a peacetime army. A Delaware Federalist paper suggested that "most of the principal measures adopted by the democratic party and opposed by the Federalists, have been abandoned by this same party in favor of federal principles and policy."[44] Consequently a Federalist Congressional delegation from Delaware found much in the administration program that it could support, and found too that it possessed strength through the competition of Democratic factions for support.

Much of Van Dyke's time in the Senate was occupied in the business of the committees on which he served — pensions, claims, roads and canals, and public lands. He urged such

42. *Ibid., 1817*, pp. 88-89. The split Federalist vote may have been an outgrowth of an intraparty quarrel in the election of 1816. *Gazette*, Oct. 7, 1816.

43. In New York, for example, after 1820 the "Federalists could no longer, in any sense be said to have a party organization." Dixon R. Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York, 1919), p. 228.

44. *Gazette*, Apr. 5, 1817.

local measures as federal aid to the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, the establishment of a light ship in Delaware Bay; he unsuccessfully opposed a new allocation of representatives which would cost Delaware one of the two House seats his small state had held since 1813. He also favored appropriations for the National Road and for diplomatic missions to the newly independent Latin-American nations; his friend Caesar A. Rodney resigned from the Senate in 1823 to become the first United States minister to Buenos Aires.[45] His most important speeches were made in connection with bills to admit Maine and Missouri to statehood and to establish uniform bankruptcy laws and abolish imprisonment for debt.

The Maine-Missouri bills, which first raised sectional furor over the slavery issue, were by far the most critical ones on which he spoke. Maine wished to enter the Union as a free and Missouri as a slave state. Anti-slavery Congressmen proposed that slavery be excluded from Missouri, as it had earlier been excluded from the Northwest Territory. The debates that resulted were echoed throughout the country, and public meetings and state legislatures alike offered Congress advice. The General Assembly of Delaware instructed its congressional delegation to oppose any extension of slavery, but the delegation proved to be mavericks. Three Federalists, Van Dyke, Louis McLane, and Outerbridge Horsey, declined to follow instructions on constitutional grounds; the other Delaware Congressman, Democratic Representative Willard Hall, sidestepped the issue by refusing to vote.[46] Van Dyke declared in the Senate that the resolution of his General Assembly favoring exclusion of slavery from Missouri merited and commanded his "sincere respect," but since he disagreed on the constitutionality of such an exclusion he was "not satisfied to give a silent vote." In a long speech on January 28, 1820, he maintained that the Constitution gave no power to Congress to limit the migration of slaves from state to state. Territories were

45. *Journal of the Senate of the United States . . .*, 15th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 23; 16th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 29, 135, 148; 2d Sess., p. 64; 17th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 27, 51, 140, 254, 315; 2d Sess., pp. 21, 69.

46. *Gazette*, Feb. 23, Sept. 22, 1820.

a different matter; from them slavery might be excluded. Nor did he defend slavery, he argued merely that unless the Constitution were to be changed, Congress could not abolish slavery from a state against the will of the people of that state.[47]

The result of the debate was, of course, the Missouri Compromise, by which Maine was admitted free and Missouri slave, but slavery was abolished in the remaining part of the Louisiana Purchase north of Missouri's southern boundary. Van Dyke, consequently, was on the victorious side, and he won personal acclaim for his speech. So McLane informed Caesar A. Rodney: "Your friend Mr. Vandyke made a very able argument in Senate on friday on the constitutional question, and in opposition to the restriction. His argument is spoken of on equal terms with Mr. Pinckneys, but without its eloquence."[48]

At home in Delaware, a political revolution was occurring. In 1821 the Democratic-Republicans won control of the legislature and for the first time in history sent a member of their party to the Senate, in place of Horsey, who had been Van Dyke's colleague. In the 1822 elections they maintained control of the legislature and took the governorship as well, an unprecedented situation. Since Van Dyke's term was expiring, it was obvious that he would not be re-elected.[49] The victorious party, however, long starved for Senate seats, fell to quarreling over his replacement. Five ballots were taken in the legislature on January 30, 1823, without an election, as Dr. Samuel H. Black and George Read, Jr., divided the Democratic majority. When news arrived of Caesar A. Rodney's resignation from the Senate to go to Argentina, the Democrats had two Senate seats to fill, but they were no more able to agree on two senators than on one. Agreement was reached

47. *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 300-11.

48. Washington, Jan. 31, 1820, Brown Collection (MSS in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware). William Pinkney, of Maryland, was one of the most noted orators of his day.

49. "I am sorry to find . . . that our friend Vandyke stands but little chance of re-election." Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey, to Caesar A. Rodney, Washington, Feb. 7, 1823, Brown Collection.

in caucus that Willard Hall should have the second seat, but the well-organized Black supporters would not allow this seat to be filled until their man was elected. Under circumstances reminding twentieth-century Delawareans of the Senate contests in the Addicks era, ten more ballots were taken on February 7; Black fell two votes short of a majority, and the legislature adjourned without a senatorial choice.[50]

Having thus spited themselves once, the Democrats were not soon to have another chance. The Federalists won back control of the legislature in 1823, assisted, no doubt, by internecine strife among the Democrats. They promptly proceeded to elect Van Dyke to succeed himself, and Thomas Clayton, a former representative, to succeed Rodney.[51]

In his last Senate term, Van Dyke found himself for the first time in sympathy with the administration. While many Delaware Federalists supported William Crawford in the four-way presidential contest of 1824, and many more swung to Jackson then or later, Van Dyke was a staunch supporter of John Quincy Adams, as he had been of Adams' father.[52] His new status was recognized in the advice given one applicant for a clerical position with Congress: "It will be very unfortunate for you . . . if Mr. Van Dyke should not be able to attend early in the Session, as, his long and high standing in the Senate would give his recommendation great weight with the individual members of it."[53]

Unfortunately, Van Dyke was unable to make much use of his newly-won influence with the administration, for his

50. *Journal of the Senate of . . . Delaware, 1823*, pp. 89-90, 128-37; *Gazette*, Feb. 7, 11, 18, 21, 1823. Van Dyke received some votes on every ballot; his maximum was ten, whereas sixteen were required for election. Only twelve Federalists were in the legislature. *Gazette*, Feb. 21, 1823.

51. *Journal of the Senate of . . . Delaware, 1824*, pp. 17, 24-25. Andrew Gray was proposed in opposition to Van Dyke; Henry M. Ridgely to Clayton.

52. McLane, then a Crawford man, mentioned Van Dyke's "devotion to Adams" as early as 1823. To James Bayard, Washington, Dec. 22, 1823, Bayard Papers (MSS in the possession of Mrs. William S. Hilles, Ommelanden, Delaware).

53. S. Pleasanton to William P. Brobson, Washington, Oct. 20, 1825, William P. Brobson Papers (MSS in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware). This letter mentions Van Dyke's ill health.

health was seriously declining.[54] Only one important speech by him is recorded in his second term, and that on a bill to abolish imprisonment for debt, a bill which he found so cumbersome, laden with such difficulties for creditors, that he felt bound to oppose it. "No man," he said, "would be more willing than myself to abolish imprisonment for debt, on such conditions and under such provisions as should oblige the debtor to make a full disclosure and surrender of his property for the use of his creditors . . . . I am not one of those who would expect a poor man to pay his debt by going to prison." Most of the states had laws to this effect already; so there was no demand, certainly not in the middle states, for this bill which made a creditor's part so difficult that a dishonest debtor could hardly be compelled to pay. The Senate agreed with Van Dyke; the bill was defeated.[55]

For the rest of his career in Congress, only the brief record afforded by the official *Senate Journal* is available. He continued a member of committees on roads and canals and on public lands, and he joined for the first time those on commerce and the judiciary. He voted against raising the tariff — he came from a mercantile town and he was elected by farmers' votes; the manufacturing center of Delaware was Republican. He supported most bills for internal improvements. He agreed with the desire of the Adams administration to have the United States represented at the Pan-American Congress of Panama. Almost his last recorded votes were to confirm some of Adams' appointments.[56]

V

But Van Dyke lived to aid the Adams administration for only one session of one Congress. On December 4, 1826, at the opening of the second session of this, the Nineteenth, Congress, Thomas Clayton arose in the Senate, where Calhoun presided, and proposed "the usual resolution testifying the respect of the Senate for the memory of the deceased" —

54. Thomas Clayton to W. P. Brobson, Dover, Nov. 25, 1825, Brobson Papers.

55. Thomas Hart Benton, *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress* . . . (New York, 1856-66), 18th Cong., 2d Sess., VIII, 109-11.

56. *Journal of the Senate*, 18th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 127, 222, 397, 401, 441, 460, 484; 2d Sess., 30, 111, 193; 19th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 32, 440, 451, 459, 464-66.

mourning cape worn on the left arm for one month. "His amiable temper and gentlemanly deportment — his talents and high standing in this body," he continued, "were too well known to all the members to need any eulogy from me."[57]

Privately, the disappointed office-seeker, William Brobson, entered a more precise and more persuasive encomium in his diary under date of May 22, 1826: "Nicholas Vandyke Esquire, a member of the Senate of the United States from this State, and an eminent lawyer of this county, died yesterday at his residence in New Castle. He was a gentleman of handsome talents and acquirements; had a very considerable reputation as a lawyer, and was a very pleasing speaker."[58]

The most discriminating eulogy was to come from a member of another famous New Castle family, from William Thompson Read, who wrote his sketch years later: Not most profound in knowledge of the law or "dialectical power," Senator Van Dyke was "a fluent, graceful, and successful advocate. . . . He never lost his predilection for general literature, and always found time for miscellaneous reading." ("I . . . direct that he be placed at some good school to be taught *again,* arithmetic, geography and some branches of mathematics with English grammar and writing. . . . Much instruction and improvement may be derived by reading in the evenings and I hope his taste in that amusement will be cultivated."[59] — So Van Dyke directed the education of his ward, Robert Bird, who would some day write *Nick of the Woods* (eight English editions and one in German) and *The Hawks of Hawk Hollow* and four prize plays for Edwin Forrest.)

"He was remarkable for the ease and elegance of his manners and conversational powers, and for his taste in architecture, and fondness for indulging it."[60] (New Castle folk and the visitors who peer at New Castle exteriors during the year or wander through its houses on its annual "day," the third Saturday in May, know of Senator Nicholas Van Dyke. . . .)

57. *Register of Debates in Congress* . . . (Washington, 1829), 19th Cong., 2d Sess., III, 1.

58. Brobson Diary (MS in the Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg).

59. Van Dyke to James Bird, New Castle, June 5, 1820, Foust, *Bird,* p. 18.

60. Read, *Read,* p. 493.

The Early New Castle Court

By H. Clay Reed*

OUR county courts are the oldest agencies of government in Delaware. "This town," wrote a visitor to New Castle in 1679, "is the capital of justice, where the high court of the South River is held, having three other courts subordinate to it, from which appeals lie to it, as they do from it to New York, and from New York to England. These three minor courts are established, one at Salem, a small village of Quakers newly commenced on the east side of the river not far from Newcastle; another is at Upland, on the west side above Newcastle, a Swedish village, and the third is at Burlington, a new Quaker village on the east side of the river above Newcastle."[1]

Another court, which the visitor failed to mention, had been in operation for some years at the Whorekill; and in the following year two more were authorized, one for what is now Kent County and the other for "the inhabitants of the new seated Towne nere the falls of Delaware (called Crewcorne)."[2] Under the Dutch, and also after the English conquest by the Duke of York in 1664, the Delaware settlements had been ruled as a "Dependent"[3] of the larger colony of New York. Their courts, functioning under the authority and strict supervision of the governor and council of New York, were the principal instruments of local government on the Delaware. When William Penn arrived in October, 1682, to assume personal control of his new grants of Pennsylvania and Delaware, the overall authority of New York was replaced by that of an elected legislature; but it was superimposed upon the existing county governments, which continued to operate

* Dr. H. Clay Reed is professor of history in the University of Delaware.

1. *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680*, ed. B. B. James and J. F. Jameson (New York, 1913), pp. 143-44. On the accuracy of Danckaert's statement, see the end of this article.

2. On the Crewcorne court, see *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York . . .* (Albany, 1856-1877), XII, 645, 646, 650, 658.

3. *Documents*, XII, 515.

without a break, as they have ever since. The three county courts in Delaware today are the lineal descendants of the three which Penn found here.

Of the three present Delaware courts, that of Kent County is the youngest. It was set up in response to a petition to Governor Andros in New York from the inhabitants of "the vpland part of the Whorekill county," who, although "ambitious to abide vnder the sunshine of your Honours Government," were unwilling any longer to go fifty or sixty miles across "perillous Creeks" and "hazardous large Marshes and myreous and difficult branches" to the court at Lewes. They therefore asked that a court be constituted for them at "some Convenient place in St. Jones Creeke." This was done, and the first minutes of this new court "for St. Jones' County," beginning in June, 1680, are still in existence in the Archives at Dover.[4]

The Sussex County story goes back to the period of Dutch rule. Fearing that "other nations, especially our English neighbors," had designs upon the "Horekil" country, the Dutch decided to buy the land "from Cape Henlopen to the Boomtiens Hoeck" from the Indians. This was done in June, 1659, and by the following October a fort had been erected and twenty soldiers stationed there.[5] Early in the following year Pieter Alrichs was asked "to go again to the Horekil as Commandant in the spring."[6] During the remainder of Dutch rule little is recorded about the "Horekil," and nothing concerning the government of the soldiers there and the forty-one immigrants who arrived in 1663.[7]

Under the terms of the Dutch capitulation to the Duke of York in 1664, their "present Magistrates" were to be con-

4. See *ibid.*, XII, 654, 659, 664, 666, for the petition and other references to the establishment of this court. The petitioners asked that the jurisdiction of the proposed court extend "from the North side of Cedar Creeke to the South side of Blackbird Creeke." However, the Whorekill magistrates complained that their county "as it is now diuided is not aboue halfe soe big as St. Jones," and asked that their northern boundary be pushed up to "Murther Creeke" or "bocking bridge Creek."

5. *Ibid.*, II, 19, 71; XII, 221, 229, 235, 237, 241-43, 273.

6. *Ibid.*, XII, 292.

7. *Ibid.*, XII, 321, 331, 334, 344, 363, 368, 414, 416, 436, 450.

tinued temporarily.[8] Whether there was a court at the Whorekill at that time may be doubted. But early in 1670, in accordance with the desire of the inhabitants that "there bee an Officer appointed amongst them to keep the Peace etc.," Governor Lovelace at New York appointed a "Schout" and three "Commisaryes" for "the Hoarekill,"[9] with their "Commission & Letter of Instruction in Dutch."[10] Subsequently the governor allowed the inhabitants to choose these officers themselves, which they did in 1672 by the common Dutch device of double nomination.[11] This was also done during the brief reconquest of the colony by the Dutch in 1673-1674, when the inhabitants nominated eight magistrates, of whom Governor Colve chose four.[12] After the return of the English to power, the old magistrates were restored. In 1676 English forms were introduced; the magistrates became justices of the peace, and the Duke's laws were to be followed. The number of justices was increased, until by 1678 there were seven of them instead of three or four. With all these changes, however, certain names continue on the list of magistrates from year to year, such as Hermanus Wiltbank, Otto Wolgast, and Dr. John Rhoades. In 1680 the justices reported that they had ordered "A prisson stocks and wheeping post, forth with to be built," but there was still "a greate want of a Court house."[13]

In September, 1680, the court asked Governor Andros "to give the whorekill some other name."[14] He apparently did so, for by the following June the court was being held "at Deale for the Towne and County of Deale." The new name,

8. *Ibid.*, III, 71.

9. The English spelled the word impartially with or without a "w."

10. *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, . . . 1668-1673*, ed. V. H. Paltsits (Albany, 1910), I, 41, 325. "To Trye all matters of difference under 10£ amongst themselues, for what shall be aboue they are to apply themselues to New Yorke, & so for all Cryminalls."

11. "Vpon the Returne of a double Number from the Inhabitants at the Whore-Kill in Delaware Bay for Schout & Commissaryes I doe approve of," etc. *Ibid.*, II, 677. and see *Documents*, XII, 496. In 1671 Lovelace had asked "whither the Scout is to be alterd this next ensuing yeare," and "that the Person to Succeed be recommended to mee, whom I will Authorize for 2 yeares next ensueing." *Minutes*, II, 543.

12. *Documents*, II, 605; XII, 508, 511. The court for "the inhabitants of Hoere Kil" was to have "provisional jurisdiction over the people on the east and west side of Cape Hinlopen and northward to Boomties Hook."

13. *Ibid.*, XII, 513, 515, 561, 588-89, 604, 635, 654, 659.

14. *Ibid.*, XII, 659.

"Deal" or "New Deal," hardly had a chance to become current before William Penn late in 1682 changed the name of the county to Sussex, with its northern boundary at "the maine branch of Mispillon Creek Called the three Runs," and extending "southwards to Asewomet Inlet" — old Cape Henlopen, which henceforwards was to be called "Cape James." The town was renamed "Lewis."[15]

The earliest extant minutes of the Sussex court date from the "Deal" period. A manuscript minute book, beginning in June, 1681, has been for many years in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is printed in part in Turner's *Some Records of Sussex County*.[16] As recently as 1948, however, another volume of Sussex records, 1680-1699, was discovered in a house in Dover, and is now in the Public Archives.[17] The absence of earlier minute books from Sussex may possibly be accounted for by the fact that when Cornelis Verhoofe was dismissed as clerk of that court he refused to deliver the records to his successor. In August, 1681, the magistrates were ordered to obtain them from him; but whether they did so, or whether he had any to deliver, does not appear.[18]

As is described elsewhere in this issue of *Delaware History,* the story of New Castle begins with the building of Fort Casimir by the Dutch Director-General of New Netherland, Peter Stuyvesant, in the summer of 1651. Only a small garrison was maintained there, which surrendered to the Swedes three years later. But after the conquest of New Sweden by the Dutch in 1655, Fort Casimir became the center of trade and government on the river, and so continued under English rule (with the English name of New Castle) until the rise of Philadelphia to the north. Upon the separation of the lower counties from Pennsylvania in 1704, New Castle became the

15. C. H. B. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1909), pp. 54, 55, 81, 82, 85.

16. Pp. 54-156.

17. See *Annual Report of the Public Archives Commission* for 1947-1948, pp. 46-48.

18. *Documents*, XII, 667.

capital of Delaware proper, retaining that honor until it was transferred in 1777 to the more centrally located town of Dover. Thereafter, for another century, New Castle was still the county seat of the state's most populous county, until finally, in 1881, that remaining governmental distinction was lost to the growing industrial and commercial city of Wilmington.[19]

In November, 1655, Jean Paul Jacquet was appointed "our Vice-Director and Chief-Magistrate on the South River" by Stuyvesant and his council at Manhattan. He was to "keep everything in good order for the service and welfare of the General Priviledged West-India Company," and "to administer law and justice to citizens as well as soldiers," through a council consisting of himself, Andries Hudde ("Secretary and Surveyor"), Elmerhuysen Cleyn, and "the two Sergeants, if the affair is purely military or concerning the Company properly," or "two of the most suitable freemen," "if the affair is purely a civil one between freemen and the Company's servants." A "court messenger" was also appointed, and the court began to function at Fort Casimir without delay.[20]

The minutes of Jacquet and his council have been preserved.[21] They met frequently — over forty times in fifteen months — and spent most of their time on business characteristic of any local court of record at that time, such as the adjudication of disputes over debts and the recording of matrimonial engagements (and one disengagement). They ordered a master who had beaten his servant to furnish him with victuals "until he shall be fit to work" again. They released a debtor of his obligation because the weather (in February) was too severe to imprison him. Finding that the hogs "in and about Fort Casimir" were destroying the Company's grain, they warned the owners "to put yokes on the necks of

19. New Castle's history is interestingly and authoritatively told, with pictures, in the Delaware Federal Writers' Project's *New Castle on the Delaware*, (ed. Jeannette Eckman, Dutch Tercentenary Edition, New Castle Historical Society, 1950).

20. *Documents*, XII, 113-15, 140.

21. *Ibid.*, XII, 133-62.

said Hogs, within 24 hours," on pain of having them killed by the soldiers. Other matters reflecting the life of a garrisoned frontier community were the disciplining of unruly soldiers, often under the influence of strong drink, and the almost hopeless task of keeping such beverages out of the hands of their highly susceptible Indian neighbors.

On two occasions "the whole community" were called together to consider matters requiring their co-operation. In November, 1656, they nominated four "proper persons as Tobacco-Inspectors," of whom the Vice-Director chose two for this important duty.[22] At the same time it was proposed that everyone should fence in his land, in order to avoid "the difficulties and damages to the fields, done heretofore"; and the community were asked to elect two "Overseers and Surveyors of Fences," which they did. They also agreed to "make a bridge over the Kil, running by the Fort," and "to cut some palisadoes for the fort," to cover it on the outside. In the following January the community came together again and were asked to agree among themselves on prices to be paid to the Indians for furs, in order to avoid the competition which was ruining the trade for everyone. This was also done, and violators of the code were to be suspended from trading or banished from the river.

Jacquet's administration, and with it the rule of the Dutch West India Company over Fort Casimir, came to an end in April, 1657, with the arrival of some 170 new colonists under the direction of Jacob Alrichs, and the cession of Fort Casimir (henceforth to be called New Amstel) and "all the territory belonging thereto" — that is, from the Christina southward to "Boomptjes Hoeck" (Bombay Hook) — to the city of Amsterdam.[23] The city hoped to build up the Dutch colony on the Delaware, in population and trade, and to that

22. A bright future was seen for "this River" in the tobacco business, provided the quality of the product exported could be safeguarded by systematic inspection. Since it was proposed to charge ten stivers per hundred pounds for this service, community acquiescence and co-operation were necessary. See *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638-1674*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1868), p. 267.

23. *Documents*, II, 8-19; XII, 163, 166, 170.

end offered generous inducements, governmental as well as financial, to prospective emigrants.[24]

The city's colony was to be "regulated in matters of Police and the administration of justice in the same manner as here in Amsterdam." There were to be a "schout or officer as the head of Justice," three "Burgomasters," and "five or seven Schepens" or magistrates. The burgomasters were to be "appointed by the common Burghers, from the honestest, fittest and richest." Both the schout and the schepens were to be named by "the Deputies of Amsterdam, who, for this purpose shall give authority to the Director[25] by a power of attorney." The schepens were to be chosen from a double number nominated by "the body of the Burghers." The burgomasters of Amsterdam also reserved the right, "as founders and Patroons, and as possessors of the jurisdiction," of naming "the secretary, messenger, and other inferior officers." It was further stipulated that, "on the increase of the city or town to two hundred families or upwards," they should choose a "Common Council" of twenty-one persons, who should meet with the burgomasters and "resolve together on all matters relating to the City government." Once chosen, the council was thereafter to be self-perpetuating, and it was also to choose the burgomasters and nominate the double number of schepens.[26] Judgments of the schepens above one hundred guilders could be appealed to the Director-General and Council of New Netherland, to whom also appeals could be taken "provisionally" in criminal cases. This division of authority caused friction, especially in the matter of appeals;[27] and in 1661, under pressure from the city, it was agreed by the company that henceforth judgments of the New Amstel schepens under six hundred guilders should be absolute, criminal decisions

24. See "Conditions offered by the City of Amsterdam to Settlers on the Delaware River," in *ibid.*, I, 630-36, and cf. 619-25.

25. That is, the Director-General of New Netherland, who was, of course, an appointee of the company.

26. The great authority given to this council, in electing its own members as well as burgomasters and schepens, was at the instance of the company—not the city. See *Documents*, I, 621.

27. *Ibid.*, XII, 212, 234, 241, 303, 311, 326, 374.

should not be appealable at all (though the Director-General and Council could still grant reprieves), and the appointment of the schout should hereafter be at the disposal of the city.[28]

When Alrichs took over in April, 1657, he permitted the men who had administered Fort Casimir affairs under Jacquet to continue "to decide all differences which might arise between burgher and burgher," while Alrichs and his council handled more important matters, including "misunderstandings arising among and received from the schepen or burgher" (court), "until," he says, "the arrival of the ship *de Waeg* [late in August], when 7 Common Councilmen and from them three new schepens were chosen; also, another Secretary and Schout."[29]

There are unfortunately no records of the city's government at New Amstel like those preserved from Jacquet's time. What we know of it must be pieced together for the most part from casual references in contemporary letters. Shortly before the arrival of the "Waeg," Alrichs wrote that he had taken steps to reduce the prices of beer, wine, and provisions "with the advice of the Municipal government, and on the representation of those authorized by the Commonalty." In October, 1658, he reported that the members of the council, Hinojossa and Rynevelt, as well as the schout and all the schepens had been sick and "are mostly still a-bed."[30]

Whatever the government may have been in theory, in practice it was the director with his council who made the decisions. His was the responsibility for the welfare of the infant colony, and the shortage of trained personnel to assist him increased his personal burden. Alrichs wrote in 1658: "There are about 600 souls here now; among these are many rough people who furnish plenty of work; scarcely an hour passes without having talk or trouble with one or the other

28. *Ibid.*, II, 62, 168, 173-74. The Dutch word "schout" is usually translated as "sheriff," though his duties combined those of an English sheriff and a public prosecutor. See Leon deValinger, Jr., "The Development of Local Government in Delaware, 1638-1682" (M. A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1935), pp. 43ff.

29. *Documents*, II, 68.

30. *Ibid.*, II, 19; XII, 227.

of them." In 1659 he reported that of the three persons previously sent over as councilors, one had asked for and received his discharge, and another was dead; and he requested that two or three more be sent "as Councillors, or of superior rank with offices annexed."[31] Before the year was out Alrichs himself died, and the surviving councilor, Alexander d'Hinojossa, took his place.

If Alrichs had acted arbitrarily by necessity, Hinojossa did so by choice. When "the Honorable Schepens, the Town-Council and the City's officers" refused to be intimidated into testifying that "the late Mr. Alrichs had governed badly," "Elmerhuysen and Sr. Willems were discharged" and Cornelis van Gezel, the secretary, was arrested and removed from his office. Johan Crato was appointed "in his place as Councillor, Sheriff van Sweeringen does the writing as Secretary, so that the Administration," according to a contemporary reporter, "now consists of the Honorable Mr. d'Hinojossa, van Sweeringen and Crato; in extraordinary cases they associate to themselves Mr. Willem, the Surgeon, and Hans Block, Constable."[32]

Hinojossa remained in control of New Amstel to the end of Dutch rule. He was reported to have chosen three new men as "Commissaries" in June, 1660. In August Amsterdam appointed him as director and Crato and van Sweringen as his assistants. Still other names are noted as being on his council in later years.[33] In 1663 the whole of the South River was turned over to the city, but its plans for expansion were

31. *Ibid.*, II, 55, 71. According to Stuyvesant (*ibid.*, XII, 327), Hinojossa had been "substituted by the last will of the late Director Alrichs in his place." However, Hinojossa had been designated second councilor of the three sent over in 1658, and, as noted above, was the sole survivor of them at the time of Alrichs' death. He seems to have had Alrichs' confidence, however little his subsequent actions may have justified it.

32. *Ibid.*, XII, 290, 292. Elmerhuysen, mentioned by Alrichs in 1658 as a schepen, is doubtless the Elmerhuysen Cleyn who had been a member of Jacquet's council. *Ibid.*, XII, 133, 161, 205. Upon the death of Abraham van Rynevelt, commissary and member of the council, in October, 1658, Gerrit van Sweringen was made "Schout and Councillor" in his stead, becoming Second Councilor, with Hinojossa as First Councilor, shortly before Alrich's death. These appointments were no doubt made by Alrichs and were subject, as van Sweringen noted, to approval by Amsterdam. *Ibid.*, II, 106, 108; XII, 213, 229.

33. *Ibid.*, XII, 319, 333, 345, 353, 401, 409, 418.

rudely interrupted by the English conquest of New Netherland in the summer of 1664.[34]

In the judicial business of the New Amstel court we may assume that Dutch law and forms were followed as far as circumstances permitted, even though we know little of the details. In October, 1658, Alrichs acknowledged receipt of "the police and law books which were sent out," which, he said, would be "a great convenience to us and we shall make use of them."[35] There is a brief "Extract from the Minutes of the Honorable Director, Council and Schepens," and an account of a "court-martial," of late 1659. In the inventory of the deceased Alrichs' possessions, Hinojossa claimed that things belonging to the city were included, predicting that "the City would take it very ill, that their courtroom was so despoiled of chairs, books, pictures and other things." The courtroom was an upstairs room in the fort, as appears from Vice-Director Beeckman of Altena's experience in 1661 in representing the dismissed secretary, van Gezel, in a case before the New Amstel court. As Beeckman describes it, judicial procedure under Hinojossa was, to put it mildly, unorthodox.[36]

The terms of the Dutch surrender were liberal enough. According to the articles of agreement, signed October 1, 1664, by Sir Robert Carr, commander of the English force, and "the Burgomasters on the behalfe of themselves, and all the Dutch and Swedes inhabiting in Delaware Bay, & Delaware River,"[37] they were, upon submission to English authority, to be protected in their estates, real and personal "by his Majesties Lawes and Justice"; to "enjoy the liberty of their

34. *Ibid.*, II, 209, 250; XII, 441, 449.

35. But he had not been sent "the by-laws of the city, at the end of which the customs of Antwerp are annexed and printed, whereof mention was frequently made in the despatch." *Ibid.*, II, 54-55. The company insisted that "in justice, the practice and custom of the City of Amsterdam" should be observed, rather than merely "as here in Holland," as the city's "Draft of Conditions" read; and particularly that inheritance of property in cases of intestacy should be according to the "law of Aasdom," whereby the next of blood inherits, rather than the "law of Schependom," according to which the property must revert to the source whence it came. *Ibid.*, I, 620, 631.

36. *Ibid.*, II, 103-106; XII, 282, 318, 352-53.

37. In *ibid.*, III, 71, and also in *New York State Library: 81st Annual Report, 1898* (Albany, 1899), Appendix Three, History #2: "Colonial Records, General Entries, V[ol.] I, 1664-65," pp. 127-28.

Conscience in Church Discipline as formerly"; and, upon taking the oath of allegiance, to be considered free denizens with privileges of trading "into any of his Majesties Dominions as freely as any Englishman." No immediate change was to be made in the existing local government. "The Scoute, the Burgomasters, Sheriffe, and other inferiour Magistrates" were to "use and exercise their Customary power in administration of Justice within their Precincts for Six Moneths or untill his Majesties pleasure is further known."

Things continued on this interim basis[38] — that is, the local magistrates carried on, under the general oversight of a military commander deputed from New York — until April, 1668, when the existing system was regularized and strengthened by the establishment of a governing council for Delaware.[39] It was decided that a garrison of twenty men should be maintained, under a "Commission Officer," Captain John Carr, already in command on the river. "The Civill Government in the respective Plantations" was to be continued; but to prevent "all Abuses or Oppositions in Civill Magistrates," whenever complaint should be made, Captain Carr was to "call the Scout with Hans Block, Israel Helme, Peter Rambo, Peter Cocke, Peter Aldricks or any two of them as Councellours," who were to determine "what is just Equitable and necessary in the case." Decisions were to be by majority vote, with a casting vote to the "Commission Officer" in case of a tie. This council was also to have oversight of difficulties which might arise with the Indians, as well as the "arming of the seuerall plantacons & Planters," should that need arise. The Duke's Laws, already in force in the New York colony, were to be "shewed & frequently Communicated to the said Councellours & all others To the end that being there with acquainted the practise of them may also in Convenient tyme be established." Finally Carr was instructed that "In all matters of difficulty & Importance you must have recourse by way of appeale to the Governour & Councell at New Yorke."

38. See *Documents*, III, 103; XII, 459.

39. *Ibid.*, XII, 461-62.

In 1669 Governor Lovelace and the council at New York were alarmed by news of a planned insurrection among the Swedish and Finnish settlers on the Delaware, instigated by the "long Finn," Marcus Jacobson.[40] Carr and the "Schout and Comissaryes" were ordered to round up the suspects, and then a special commission was issued for their trial, headed by Matthias Nicolls, secretary of the Province.[41] No minutes of the trial have survived, but we have the minute instructions to be followed in the "forme of holding the Court," from the opening "O Yes" to the delivery of their verdict by the jury — an object lesson to the Dutch and Swedish populace in English judicial procedure, and, so far as the records disclose, the first of its kind on the Delaware. The council at New York had already decided that, though "the said Long Finne deserves to dye," yet, because so many others were concerned who "might bee involv'd in the same Premunire if the rigour of the Law should be extended," he was to be whipped, branded in the face with the letter "R" (for "Rebellion") and transported as a servant, as he eventually was, to Barbadoes, for four years or "the usuall tyme servants are there sould at." The others were let off with fines.

The anglicizing of the Delaware government was a slow process. In October, 1670, the High Council ("Hooge Reden") was writing to Governor Lovelace in Dutch;[42] and, as noted above, earlier in the year a commission and instructions had been sent to the Whorekill magistrates in the same language.[43] However, in June, 1671, Captain Carr recommended "That Constables may be appointed to keep the Kings peace, who shall have Staves with the Kings Armes upon them, as is practised in the rest of these his royall Highness

40. For the documents in this celebrated case, see *Minutes of the Executive Council*, I, 38, 309-22.

41. The five names are left blank in the commission, but Nicolls is designated specifically to preside. In 1671 the "Officers and Magistrates in New-Castle and Delaware River, or any foure of them," were constituted a "Speciall Court of Oyer and Terminer" to try the Indian murderers of two white persons. *Ibid.*, II, 604.

42. *Ibid.*, II, 497ff.

43. And see *ibid.*, II, 541-43, for a Whorekill jury verdict in Dutch.

Dominions"; and "That they may have the Kings Armes to be sett up in their Courts of Judicature."[44]

The next step in replacing Dutch with English forms was taken in May, 1672, following a visit of Governor Lovelace to Delaware. The council at New York ordered:

That for the better Government of the Towne of New Castle for the future, the said Towne shall bee Erected into a Corporation, by the Name of a Baylywick, That is to say, It shall bee Governed by a Baily and six Assistants, to bee at first nominated by the Governour, and at the Expiration of a yeare foure of the six to goe out, and foure others to bee chosen in their Places, The Baily to continue for a yeare, and then two to bee named to succeed, out of whom the Governour will elect one; Hee is to preside in all the Courts of the Towne, and to have a double Vote; A Constable is likewise annually to bee chosen by the Bench. The Towne Court shall have Power to try all Causes of Debt or Damage to the Vallue of ten pounds without Appeale.

That the English Lawes according to the Desire of the Inhabitants, bee Establisht both in the Towne, and all Plantations upon Delaware River.

That the Office of Schout bee converted into a Sheriffalty, and the High Sheriffs power extend both in the Corporation and River, and that hee bee annually chosen by two being presented to the Governour, of whom hee will nominate and confirme one.[45]

Captain Carr seems to have acted at first as both bailiff and sheriff,[46] but in August Peter Alrichs, one of two persons nominated, was commissioned "Bayliff, and Principall Civill Magistrate at New Castle aforesaid for the yeare ensueing." In like manner Captain Edmund Cantwell was chosen "in the Place of Schout to bee High Sheriffe in New Castle and Delaware River."[47]

The new government for New Castle town, as distinguished from what was later called the county, seems to have been

44. *Ibid.*, II, 560. These requests were granted.

45. *Ibid.*, II, 670.

46. "Captain John Carr, the present Bayliff, and High-Sheriff." *Ibid.*, II, 675.

47. *Ibid.*, I, 122; II, 677; *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d series (Harrisburg, 1874-1890), V, 648.

dropped by the Dutch when they reconquered the colony in 1673. No mention is made of it in their arrangements for the governing of Delaware whereby, in September of that year, the late town bailiff, Peter Alrichs, was commissioned "Schout and Commander of the South river," and three "Courts of Justice" were set up, for New Castle (or New Amstel, as it was again to be called), Upland, and the Whorekill.[48] The inhabitants of each district were to nominate eight candidates for their magistrates from which "a selection"[49] would be made by the Dutch governor and his council at New York.

It was only a year, however, until New Netherland was returned to English rule. The new governor, Captain Edmund Andros, was instructed by the Duke of York to continue the existing courts and to appoint their officers for not more than a year, or during pleasure.[50] The English officers were restored[51] to the three courts, at New Castle, "up the River" (Upland), and the Whorekill. The "Commissaryes of New Castle" were instructed to have a constable elected in each of

48. *Documents*, II, 605; XII, 508-9. The New Amstel jurisdiction covered "the inhabitants of the east and west side of Christina Kil as far as Boomtieshook," and that for the "Hoere Kil" from Boomties Hook south. The court "for the inhabitants of Upland" also included the people on the east and west side of the Christina, and "upwards to the head of the river." In setting up this overlapping jurisdiction on the Christina, it may possibly have been intended to differentiate between the old Swedish and Finnish settlers there and the later Dutch and other arrivals. The Swedes were concentrated along the river from Christina northwards as far as the present Philadelphia. As early as 1657, they had been allowed to have a "Sheriff," Gregorius van Dyck, "Commissaries," and a court with a "Court-messenger and provost" of their own. *Ibid.*, XII, 190-91. In 1661 Sheriff van Dyck's duties were taken over by Beeckman, the company's vice-director at Fort Altena, where the Swedish minister was tried by Beeckman and three Swedish commissaries in 1662. *Ibid.*, XII, 211, 213, 232, 256, 294, 338, 366-69. When the city took over the whole South River colony, the Swedish commissaries refused to swear allegiance to the new regime (*ibid.*, XII, 452), and it is not clear what their judicial arrangements were for the next few years. In 1668 three Swedes, Peter Rambo, Israel Helme, and Peter Cock were members of the colony's council, and in 1671 it (the "Raedt") was called together at Peter Cock's. *Ibid.*, XII, 462; *Minutes of the Executive Council*, II, 602. Reference is made to "the court of Upland" in 1672. Samuel Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania* . . . (Philadelphia, 1850), p. 398.

49. Presumably half of the number, for four were commissioned for the Whorekill. *Documents*, XII, 511.

50. *Ibid.*, III, 218.

51. "Excepting Peter Alricks, the Bayliffe, he having proffer'd himselfe to the Dutch at their first coming, of his own Motion and acted very violently (as their cheife Officer) ever since." *Ibid.*, XII, 518.

the "other townes adjacent," and the laws and customs of Nicolls' and Lovelace's time were to be followed.[52]

In May, 1675, the governor himself was present at a "speciall Court" at New Castle, during which his commission from the Duke was read, that of the sheriff was read and he was sworne, and the three commissions for New Castle, Upland, and the Whorekill were read and the justices present sworne. The court lasted two days, during which a variety of civil suits were heard, and James Sandylands stood trial on the suspicion of having caused the death of an Indian. During the latter proceedings, several Indians were present, and the difference "betweene wilfull murder and accidentall" was explained to them. A jury of twelve found the prisoner not guilty. Among the executive business attended to was an order to the magistrates of Upland to have a church built at Wicaco, and the setting of fares for a ferry to be maintained at "the Falls" (Trenton). Andros then proceeded up the river and held a court at Peter Rambo's.[53]

Before it adjourned the "speciall Court" at New Castle ordered that "the next Generall Court" should be held a year hence. It met according to schedule at New Castle in May, 1676, with "all the Magistrates aboue and two from the Hoerkill" in attendance. In addition to other business it ordered that a bounty of forty guilders each should be paid for killing wolves, which were doing unusually heavy damage to "sheepe cattell and hogs." But, as it turned out, this was the last meeting of a general or "high" court of all the justices on the river. In February and again in June, 1677, the New Castle court asked for such a meeting, without which, they thought, the poll tax levied for governmental expenses could not be collected. Governor Andros, however, found no need of a general court, the individual courts "having power to make fitting rates for the high wayes, Poor, or other necessaryes, as is practiced in England," and the clerk of each court receiving and paying out money by order of court. The New Castle justices

52. *Ibid.*, XII, 514, 515.

53. *Ibid.*, XII, 524-27.

asked again in February, 1677/8 for "a generall Court or meeting of all the Justices," but without success.[54]

Although Andros avoided setting up any agency representative of the people of the whole river, which might conceivably come into conflict with his personal sway over the Delaware colony, he nevertheless was always careful, as he wrote the New Castle justices, "to preserve the Honour and reputation of Courts as farr as is fitt."[55] While keeping the courts local, and strictly subordinate to his authority in New York, he nevertheless wished them to act with the freedom and self-reliance of English courts in the many small matters which came before them. His ordinance of September, 1676, was designed to complete the anglicization, already partially effected, of the Delaware courts, and to sweep away the last remaining vestiges of Dutch practice.[56]

The Duke's laws were to be followed on the Delaware as already practiced on the Hudson, with a few exceptions.[57] There were to be three courts "as formerly," that at New Castle to meet monthly and those of Upland and the Whorekill quarterly. They were to consist of justices of the peace, "whereof three to make a Coram," and they were to have "the power of a Court of Sessions," and to decide cases under £20 without appeal. For cases above £20 and for crime extending to life, limb, or banishment, appeal was to lie to the Court of Assizes at New York. Matters under £5 might be determined by the court without a jury, unless desired by the parties, "as also matters of Equity." Since there were no constable's courts, arbitration, especially in small matters, was recommended.

54. *Ibid.*, XII, 546, 575, 581, 591.

55. *Records of the Court of New Castle on Delaware, 1676-1681* (Lancaster, 1904), p. 421, and see *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d series, V, 744.

56. *Documents*, XII, 561-63; *Records of the Court of New Castle*, pp. 3-8.

57. "The Constables Courts, Country Rates and some other things peculiar to Long Island." Though they frequently asked for one, the New Castle justices were not sent a copy of the laws until October, 1678, *Records of the Court of New Castle*, pp. 22, 66, 98, 100, 112, 232, 242, 323), and there is no evidence that the other courts ever received a copy. The laws were not printed until 1879, in *Charter to William Penn . . . Preceded by Duke of York's Laws . . .* ed. Staughton George and others (Harrisburg, 1879).

In other respects the courts' authority was extensive but closely controlled by the governor. The courts could make "all necessary By-laws or orders," but they were valid only for a year and had to be reported promptly to him. They could levy taxes, but not without his prior approval; and their accounts of receipts and disbursements had to be sent "for his allowance, until which not to be a sufficient discharge." They were also allowed to make grants of unseated land up to fifty acres subject to his approbation.

The ordinance of 1676 made the "high sheriff" of the river an English sheriff instead of a Dutch schout, as Lovelace's order of 1672 had failed to do. Upon resuming his office in 1674, Captain Cantwell was still referred to as "Sheriff or Schout."[58] In August, 1676, however, the council in New York, considering "how inconvenient it was for the Sheriff to preside, and be Judge in a Court, whose Orders and Warrants he is to execute" (as the Dutch schout did), resolved that henceforth the Delaware sheriff, "whose duty it is to represent matters to the court, and to execute the law or courtt orders," should not preside over or have any vote in the court.[59] The sheriff's new status was confirmed by the ordinance of the following month,[60] which also authorized him to select an "under Sheriffe or Marshall" to be approved by the court. Thus the sheriff became the servant, rather than the master of the court.[61]

The ordinance of 1676 specified that "fitting Bookes" be provided, in which the records of the courts should be kept.

58. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d series, V, 679, 684.

59. *Documents*, XII, 553.

60. The "Sheriffe . . . as in England . . . to act as a principall officer for the Execution of the Lawe, but not as a Justice of the Peace or Magistrate." *Ibid.*, XII, 562.

61. An aspirant to the latter responsibility was at hand in the person of a new officer of the Delaware government created by Andros at the same time that the sheriff was depressed to an inferior status. This was "Commander in Delaware River and Bay," to which Captain John Collier was appointed. His command was specifically over the military, and his commission and instructions (*ibid.*, XII, 556) are silent on his relation to the courts, nor was he included in any of the commissions of the courts. However, in the minutes his name is first in the list, instead of that of High Sheriff Cantwell, who now came last. The council resolution of August, referred to above, had stated that the sheriff was "to have the precedence of the Justices of the peace," but things did not work out that way.

They were to be in English, and were to include all judicial proceedings, public orders from the governor, and the names of magistrates and officers authorized, with dates. Ephraim Herman was appointed clerk of both New Castle and Upland courts. His predecessor, William Tom, had done his recording in "two small old paper Bookes," and had kept the records so badly that no one could make head or tail of them at the time.[62] They have not been preserved for posterity.

Fortunately for us, Ephraim Herman was an excellent clerk, and his records not only have been preserved but are in print.[63] In pleasant contrast to the fog through which we have to feel our way in the English period before 1676, New Castle court history in his time is plain sailing for the historian, thanks to Ephraim's careful and detailed judicial log books. They furnish a story in themselves, however, for which there is no space in this article. More English names appear in the minutes as time goes on; nevertheless, that New Castle society was still basically Dutch or Dutch-Swedish is apparent from the fact that accounts were still reckoned in Dutch guilders more often than in English money.

Before concluding this narrative it remains to correct a slight misstatement in the opening paragraph. By 1679, when Jasper Danckaerts visited New Castle, there had ceased to be any high court of the river, as has been explained above. Nor did the New Castle court have appellate jurisdiction over any of the other Courts except the little one just established at Salem, across the river from New Castle.[64] Appeals lay directly to New York from Upland and the Whorekill as well as from New Castle, and all three courts had their

62. *Ibid.*, XII, 575, 577, 581; *Records of the Court of New Castle*, pp. 83, 179.

63. *Record of the Court at Upland, in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681*, ed. Edward Armstrong (*Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. VII; Philadelphia 1860). The Colonial Society of Pennsylvania published the New Castle records referred to in previous footnotes, as well as a second volume (Meadville, 1935), 1681-1699, which is from an abstract of land and probate matters, made about 1770 from the original minutes, which have since disappeared.

64. See the introduction to the *Burlington Court Book*, ed. H. C. Reed and G. J. Miller (Washington, 1944).

specified geographical limits.[65] New Castle was not, therefore, the "capital of justice," as it was of administration, except insofar as its court enjoyed far greater prestige, and did much more business, than the others.

In respect to status, the acquisition of Delaware by William Penn in 1682 made no change in the New Castle court, which merely exchanged one master in New York for another in Philadelphia. There was a great change in atmosphere, however. Formerly the court and the people of the river had lived under an authoritarian government, administered by a man of military habits, whose primary concern was to serve his royal master on the other side of the ocean. The new Quaker proprietor was liberal by conviction, democratic rather than autocratic in outlook. Upon his arrival in America he hastened to call a court at New Castle, before which he assured his new subjects that henceforth they should be governed by laws of their own making, by their own duly elected representatives.[66]

65. For the settlement of the boundary between the New Castle and Upland jurisdictions, see *Record of the Court at Upland*, pp. 119, 198.

66. *Records of the Court of New Castle*, II, 25.

Life Among The Early Dutch at New Castle

By JEANNETTE ECKMAN*

THE Dutch at home in their United Netherlands in the seventeenth century were a fortunate people. Through long wars in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the inhabitants of the Dutch provinces had united to resist the persecution of Philip of Spain. Count William of Nassau, the Prince of Orange, as stadtholder (head of state) of most of the Dutch provinces gave loyal service to King Philip until he and other powerful nobles in the low countries and in the German Rhineland failed in their efforts to win from Philip by peaceful means freedom of religion for the people, along with a measure of self-government and relief from crushing taxes which they demanded.

Convinced by the bad faith and cruel avarice of Philip that the king had neither understanding of the independent and freedom-loving Dutch people nor good will toward them, William took the part of the people against the king. The individual Dutch provinces differed in traditions, customs, and interests, but the natives had in common a tendency to revolt against violations of their ancient freedoms in community life. Restraining the impulsive and sometimes violent reactions of the people, William guided their energies and determination toward the goal of freedom. When Philip put a price on his head, offering immunity and a fabulous bonus for the delivery of the prince, alive or dead, William in scorn published to all the world the reiteration of his life's purpose to "maintain the people's freedom and privileges." Of Philip he declared: "The mischief has all arisen from the cruelty and arrogance of the Spaniard, who thinks he can make slaves of us who

* Miss Jeannette Eckman, director and historian of the New Castle Tercentenary Commission, is the author of many studies in Delaware history and is the editor of *New Castle on the Delaware* (1936, 1937, 1950).

have never been a conquered people, but have accepted a ruler under definite conditions."

The theory of government expressed in those words stemmed from the character of the Dutch people and had been clearly expressed by William of Orange as early as 1558, when he said in a proclamation: "The liberties of the towns and provinces are not free grants of royal benevolence but contracts binding both the prince and the people."

In the city of Delft in 1584, at the age of forty-one, the prince met his death at the hands of an assassin, an agent of the Spanish king. This was during a period dark with uncertainty as to the outcome of the Dutch cause. But by then William had led the people through the hardest part of the struggle which others could carry on to success.

From this history, the devotion of the Dutch people to the memory of Prince William I of Orange-Nassau can be understood. He left a heritage to a people trained by him to know its value. That the devotion to him continues to be based upon the intangibles of his character, upon the quality of his loyalty, as well as upon his brilliant leadership and achievement, can be heard and read in the words of the Dutch national anthem, "Wilhelmus." For this song expresses William's fealty to the king of Spain, while the prince, a very young man, still had faith in the king. The Dutch who sang their national anthem on the Delaware in the 1650's and '60's, and ran up the prince's flag on the mast at Fort Casimir, had been bred in these traditions.

With freedom from Spain and the development of the Dutch Republic into its "golden age" — the seventeenth century, the contract basis of political power held in theory and to a remarkable extent in practice. The peaceful tenure of aristocratic officeholders depended upon their good faith in its observance. The people in turn were expected to exercise the responsibility that goes with freedom. Among those special freedoms that the Dutch enjoyed in full in the seventeenth century were some that the American colonists fought for in

the eighteenth: freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and petition, and of religion.

These rights were actual in a culture that was the most advanced and liberal in the world of that day. No Dutchman of the time had to defend his right, among his own people, to his own opinions, nor his right to speak or print what he had to say. Universal suffrage was not included in the rights of the citizens of the Netherlands republic. In the seventeenth century there was not a demand for it. The people in general took little interest in who their immediate officers were, so long as times and conditions were normal. An astute office-holder kept his ear open both to complaints and to the popular talk of town-dwellers and peasants and mended his ways before grumbling and grievance threatened revolt.

By the middle of the century when New Castle was founded, the republic of the Netherlands had become a brilliant center of intellectual, social, and commercial life and of the arts. As a refuge for the oppressed of other European countries, it had welcomed craftsmen, painters, musicians, writers, and teachers to join with its own native leaders in these occupations and professions. Thinkers who could not publish their views in their own countries, took advantage of the free press of the Netherlands to turn out their treatises in pamphlets and books which were exported freely to their native countries.

The homes of the people in the Dutch provinces were models of order and cleanliness, yet warmly livable, the interiors pleasantly designed and graced with objects and materials to which the makers had given individual character and beauty. These qualities were general, not confined to any class.

In their characteristic traits the Dutch were diligent and thrifty, thoroughgoing and persevering often to the point of obstinacy; home-loving and affectionate within their families; hospitable and generous; cautious and counting the cost before going ahead, yet capable of impulsive behavior. As a people

the Netherlanders had inquiring minds. Public education supported the unusually high plane of Dutch literacy. Rich and poor sent their children to the same tax-supported schools in the towns of Holland, schools open also to adults. Patrons of higher education saw to it that many able youths had the opportunity, either free or by a chance to earn the cost, to study at the advanced schools and universities.

In religion, the Dutch Reformed was the official church, so appointed by the governmental regime of the day. But in government there was no connection between church and state; the separation, gained with freedom from Spain, was basic. Lutherans, Catholics, and many other denominations worshiped freely according to their beliefs, and a clergyman of any faith, who in moral zeal attempted to interfere in the civil jurisdiction, usually met with peremptory repulse, and sometimes banishment. But local civil officers and powerful groups, like the Dutch West India Company, who were partisans of a particular church, could and often did put obstacles in the way of adherents of other faiths, until disciplined by higher authority for hampering freedom of worship.

In a world view, the Dutch in their golden age were the masters of the commerce of all the seas. Thousands of their trading ships carried and delivered the commodities without which other countries would starve, freeze, or go naked. Thousands more carried the burden of a great part of all the luxuries and staples of the world. Riches in silver, gold, precious stones, and the staples and luxuries the Dutch people wanted, flowed into their country through the seaports.

So there is the question why the Dutch and the contented French, English, and other refugees settled in the Netherlands should be willing to emigrate to an untamed continent to live in colonies controlled by a commercial company. The families ruined financially by unsound speculation or other business misfortunes, and those broken up by death or other personal loss were prospects; there were the young men of the port cities, eager for the adventures of the sea that appeal to healthy youth; also the mischievous, unruly persons, the mis-

fits, for whom native tolerance was wearing thin. Emigrants came from these groups, but the Dutch never sent to this country, under sentence of servitude, people convicted of misdemeanors or felonies. The Dutch servants who bound themselves out for limited terms did just that of their free will, so stating in the court which approved the indenture.

Members of the prosperous well-established households, even if their financial interests were in the trading companies, seldom came to New Netherland. To serve as officers or in the professions, their sons might be sent, or be persuaded to come, as some of them were, by the Amsterdam directors. Some farmers who came were undoubtedly enticed by the promise of plantations large enough to support their families and all the timber for houses and barns and wood for fuel they could use. Land was scarce in the Netherlands. Many farms were too small to support their families without other paying work. Timber to frame their houses and to build their barns had to be imported from the Baltic as did all the timber for ships and much of that for fuel.

Against the general disinclination to emigrate it was necessary at first for the West India Company to use strong persuasion and the burgomasters of Amsterdam to make real concessions. The natural result of all the conditions was the arrival here, in addition to individuals and families qualified to make good settlers, of many others who were not sturdy enough to stand the rigors of settlement life and too many young clerks instead of laborers, artisans, and farmers, so that the local directors were distracted with the effort to find ways for them to make a living and to build up a well-adjusted community. In exasperation, directors on the Delaware complained of the "lazy" who chose to traffic in small wares with the Indians as agents of the traders rather than fell trees and build dykes. Before the end of Dutch rule on the Delaware, however, suitable colonists were more easily recruited.

Without at least such a glance as the foregoing into the life and character of the Dutch people at home in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, the picture of the life of the

early Dutch at New Castle, with the French, English, and others of Dutch citizenship they brought with them, loses much of its significance and human drama. No nation's emigrants of that day have been worse misrepresented in America than the Dutch of New Netherland. The caricature in the literary masterpiece by Washington Irving, who knew his dates but not the character of the Dutch people, was long accepted as based on truth and by many who should have known better.

Having discovered and claimed the Delaware River in 1609, the Dutch continued to explore and trade with the Indians along its shores. In 1624 they set up a trading settlement, Fort Nassau, on the east shore about opposite the mouth of the Schuykill, and although a whaling colony they established at the site of Lewes six years later was destroyed by the Indians, the Dutch successfully used the existence of this colony to maintain their possession of Delaware's soil. Thus was insured the existence of Delaware as a separate colony from that of Maryland. But Fort Nassau was the continuous Dutch base of control of the river until 1651.

Forecasts of New Castle's Beginnings

The stage was set on a grand scale for the founding of New Castle in 1651, at Sand Hook on the Dutch South River, the Delaware. In the Atlantic coastal region of the American continent up to that time, settlement by Europeans was no more than a sprinkling here and there in the great areas of primitive wildness that were to comprise the thirteen original colonies.

There was still a lonely grandeur of nature about each settlement. Wild geese looking down from the wing along eastern fly-ways could hardly have spied out, besides the Indian villages and clearings, more man-made landmarks than a few forts and wharves, an occasional windmill, cart road, fenced field, or rare cupola or spire. Except at Manhattan, where the houses were built in long rows so close together near the shore that they stood out from the gardens and orchards at their backs, and except for a few New England shore

settlements, most of the widely scattered villages of the English and Dutch were hidden away along the rivers in the shadow of the forests or embowered in their own woodlands and orchards.

Constant human activities were to be seen, however, in and about these wide-spaced neighborhoods and often through the land and on the waterways between. Indians might be moving through the forests and on the streams — singly, in groups, or in battle strength. And if the latter, other Indians would be moving silently and swiftly away from their tribal enemies, both the flight and the pursuit terrifying to the average settler. The intelligent white settler had always the fear that some foolhardy behavior of his neighbors or of the officials, or some savage impulse, would turn the Indian "good friend" into a treacherous enemy.

But in the sparse settled communities of Virginia, Maryland, New Sweden, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, men, women, and children lived as they had in the home neighborhoods of their respective countries, as nearly as settlement conditions permitted. The housewife followed the same ways in caring for her family. The children played the same games, did the same chores, learned the same lessons in the home and in the school, if there was one. The trader, clerk, or farmer used the methods he knew. The family worked together in the garden and went to church together, if there was one, or had prayers and Bible-reading in their houses if they were religiously inclined. Especially was all this true of the Dutch.

The greatest of the tidal rivers was the Delaware. Entering it through a great bay, the early explorers and settlers beheld from their ships a region of natural splendor. The broad, deep water was crystal clear. Back from both shores the land revealed a varied richness of flora, from the low vegetation of the banks and marshes to original hardwood forests, partly on level, partly on rolling ground. Occasional stands of tall trees of great girth came close to the water's edge. Elsewhere near the shores and along the streams wherever Indians and beavers

had opened the land to the sun, fruit trees grew — the mulberry, wild cherry, and persimmon. Grapes grew in abundance on thick vine stems, tangles of wild berries overhung the streams, and melon vines grew along the banks and in the clearings. Wild birds and wild fowl were everywhere except in the deep woods. In small boats, exploring the tributary streams, the first colonists found the beaver dams, saw otter and deer, and heard the scurrying of smaller animals through the underbrush.

By 1651, the Swedes had cleared and cultivated land near the Christina and above in small tracts at Edgemoor, Naamans, Marcus Hook, Chester, and Essington. But at Tamaconck (from the Indian word, beaver), the region about the future New Castle, the Sand Hook of the Dutch, where Peter Stuyvesant was to build Fort Casimir, the deer, the beaver, the otter, and the occasional Indian, along with the songbirds and wild fowl had the bounty of nature to themselves.

The influences and activities that were to converge in an outpost of Dutch life at this spot ranged from points in time and space as close as the immediate presence of the Swedes a few miles up the river and as far in the distance and in the past as the achievements of Prince William I of Orange in the Netherlands that led to the great trade expansion of the Dutch, and to the time of King Gustaf Adolf of Sweden, when a Dutch citizen, William Usselinx, enlisted the king's interest in founding colonies in America. Usselinx was the founder of the Dutch West India Company, with the limited vision of whose directors he had lost patience. Preparations made by King Gustaf were halted by the king's death at the battle of Lutzen in 1632. The project was revived in Sweden when another Dutch citizen, Peter Minuit, governor of New Netherland for the West India Company, also fell out with the directors and was called home that same year. He later offered his services to Sweden toward planning and leading a Swedish expedition to the Dutch South River. When, under command of Minuit, the expedition arrived at the Minquas

Kill (Christina River) in 1638, this challenge to Dutch control of the river brought the founding of New Castle that much nearer.

In spite of the slowness of voyages from Holland to America in the mid-seventeenth century, the lines of influence stemming from the great city of Amsterdam in Holland, seemed to hum (in the records of the time) as if guided by a Calvinist prescience that a little wooden Dutch Reformed Church was predestined to come into being on the Strand of the future New Amstel. The Amsterdam directors of the West India Company appointed as director-general of New Netherland, the vigorous and determined partisan of the Dutch Reformed Church, Peter Stuyvesant, who arrived at New Amsterdam (New York), in May, 1647.

Peter Stuyvesant, native of the province of Friesland, son of a Dutch Reformed clergyman, educated in Dutch universities, was a soldier of much experience. After service in Europe and Brazil, he became governor of the Dutch possessions in the Caribbean Islands, with headquarters at Curaçao. He was shot in the right leg during a siege on the island of St. Martin in 1644. As the leg had to be amputated, he returned to Holland, where he was supplied with an artificial leg decorated with silver bands. The nicknames, "silver leg," "peg leg," "wooden leg," followed him the rest of his life. As soon as he had his new leg, Stuyvesant applied to the West India Company for service in New Netherland.

Stuyvesant was a director after the hearts of the Dutch West India Company . In practice he sometimes outstripped them in autocratic behavior toward his fellow officers and the people. His assumption of dictatorial authority might be in the interest of justice and the good of the community as he saw it, as it often was, but all too often it was an arbitrary and resentful expression of an overbearing temperament. In relations with the colonies of other nations, however, he acted with a wisdom and statesmanship that never involved his country in any trouble. Toward the colony on the Delaware of which he was the founder, Peter Stuyvesant showed a more

tender consideration than he displayed elsewhere in New Netherland.

The people from the Netherlands, whatever their individual spiritual, social, or economic standards were, expected to enjoy in this country the rights and freedoms of the fatherland. Upon these people the Dutch West India Company, which controlled the settlements, attempted to enforce a regime devised for the company's benefit. To keep the favor of the powerful directors of this company and (after April 12, 1657, on the Delaware) of the lords-mayors (burgomasters) of Amsterdam, their appointed officers in the colonies had to produce profits; they were warned to keep the people in check and to mete out punishment to the rebellious. These officers were on the spot where the trouble brewed, their superiors were an ocean away, so according to their own temperaments and the degree of wisdom and insight they possessed, the directors, vice-directors, and other officers as well, used their judgment as to how far to go in obeying and enforcing orders.

Peter Stuyvesant, by writing and sending competent officers to represent him, gave the Swedes, who had taken the best of the Indian trade on the South River, their chance to profess fealty to the States General (parliament) of the Netherlands or leave the river. Meanwhile he strengthened defenses and the garrison at Fort Nassau and kept himself informed through his officers and the merchant traders of the circumstances and activities of the Swedes. When protests and diplomacy proved unavailing, Stuyvesant secretly prepared a force of ships, men, and supplies too large for the Swedes to oppose. His fleet of ships, some large, some small, sailed up the Delaware in June, 1651, past the forts and farms of the ill-garrisoned Swedes to join him at Fort Nassau. To that place he had come overland with one hundred additional soldiers, arriving there June 25. After a conference with the Indians, who made Stuyvesant a free gift of the land from Christina Creek south to Bombay Hook, a statement of this agreement was signed by witnesses, June 29, and soon the fleet sailed drumming and cannonading down the river with Stuyvesant in command.

Before the site of New Castle the fleet anchored. With two hundred soldiers, sailors, and laborers, a surveyor, and carpenters, Stuyvesant was ready to build the fort. On July 19 the final conveyance from the Indians was signed here "on the land of Tamaconk itself." Although the Indians twice offered the land — at Nassau and again at Tamaconck — as a free gift, Stuyvesant explained that he wished to make the purchase in the usual way. He paid to the Indians for the site of New Castle and all the land from the Christina to Bombay Hook "twelve coats of duffels, twelve kettles, twelve axes, 12 adzes, 24 knives, 12 bars of lead, 4 guns and some powder," and affirmed their right to continue to hunt and fish on the territory.

The ceremony on the shore for recording the agreement with the Indians, the signing of Indians and official witnesses, the presentation and inspection of the articles given in payment, all in the presence of a large assemblage of Stuyvesant's people and the ships in the river would be made impressive by intention. Establishing Fort Casimir was an important undertaking for Stuyvesant. His pride of office, the prestige and advantage of the West India Company and of the Netherlands itself were involved. He brought with him a sufficient company of officers and citizens to do honor to the occasion. So the founding of New Castle was not only the result of planned parenthood, but the ceremony was attended by an important group of godfathers.

Among these were: Dr. Abraham Staats of Rensselaerswyck on the Hudson, physician and elder in the Dutch Reformed Church, who has numerous descendants in Delaware; Cornelis de Potter, prominent merchant; Gysbert Opkdyck, who had the first grant of land at Coney Island; Abraham Verplanck, one of the earliest colonists at New Amsterdam; Egbert van Borsum, master of the yacht "Prins Willem," who in the following year was appointed ferrymaster at Long Island; Casper Steynmets, whose house on Winckel Street in Manhattan was afterwards the home of the English Governor Lovelace; Isaac Allerton, English merchant, who served the

new colony in many ways; George Baxter, Englishman, whose Dutch citizenship was said to have made him "more Dutch than the Dutch"; Captain Jacob Jansen Huys, master of a Dutch vessel, who with his crew aided in the building of the town; Secretary Cornelis van Tienhoven, the most powerful official next to Stuyvesant, but not very suitable for a godfather, because he was hated in New Amsterdam as a "perjured, Godless man"; Marten Krieger, then burgomaster of New Amsterdam; Domine Wilhelmus Grasmeer, a young clergyman who soon forsook New Netherland and returned to Holland.

By the end of the month the fort was finished; Fort Nassau had been dismantled, and the officers and colonists with their families and possessions moved down to the new Fort Casimir. A religious service was undoubtedly held at the fort before Stuyvesant left, planned by him and conducted by Domine Wilhelmus Grasmeer, chaplain of the expedition. At this service the fort may have been named. Casimir was the family name of Count Ernest of Nassau, distinguished stadtholder and soldier of Stuyvesant's home province of Friesland, whose title had recently passed to his son, Henry Casimir.

When Stuyvesant sailed away down the river with part of his fleet, he left two armed ships to protect the fort. Gerrit Bicker was assigned commander at the fort, where he was to live with his wife and children, and the soldiers. Andries Hudde, who had long been the chief officer at Fort Nassau, was left as commis (commissary with administrative duties) in charge of the civilian affairs. During the building of the fort all the people had lived on the ships. Several of the colonists who intended to stay had begun to build houses on the Strand south of the fort, and all who had taken plots for house and garden may have continued to live on the two armed ships until their houses were finished. Whether all the wives and children from Fort Nassau were here at this time or whether some had been sent to New Amsterdam by Stuyvesant to remain until the new community was further along is not known. It is likely their wives and children would stay. The typical

Dutch woman was the partner of her husband in all that concerned the family, domestic and often business, from his point of view as well as hers. Her right to represent him on occasion was unquestioned in the courts, and in the Delaware colony it was often the housewife who made the active protest against injustice or attended to the untangling of business affairs.

When all the ships had gone, except a small skiff for the use of the officers and the colonists, leaving only the fort with its garrison and the row of new small houses and gardens on the Strand, there must have been a sharply felt drop from the noisy, sociable time of the many people working and shouting, playing games and singing, shooting wild turkeys, felling trees and finally bringing in, mounting, and testing the fort's guns. In the quiet of the little outpost on the great river reminiscing about the community's lively start would fill many an hour.

The first colonists at the site of New Castle are shown to have been not emigrants fresh from Holland but more or less seasoned pioneers with experience at New Amsterdam and Fort Nassau. Information concerning these founders who lived along the Strand and in the fort from July, 1651, to May, 1654, is limited both as to their number and who all of them were. Some came and went between the Hudson and the Delaware; some moved to Manhattan permanently. Others moved here from New Amsterdam, making a community chiefly of traders, officers, and soldiers, with a few others. Outstanding among them was Andries Hudde, the surveyor, who later became secretary as well as surveyor and map-maker of the colony. Hudde had come to New Amsterdam first about 1630, was married to the widow of Henry de Forest after 1637, part of whose large plantation on Long Island Hudde acquired and later sold, before he went to Fort Nassau as civilian head officer. Also from Fort Nassau was Jan Roeloff de Haes, native of Holland but of at least part French descent. He was a trader married to Gertrudy Jacobs, and had three children, Johannes, Marrietje (Maria), and Annetje (Anna), when he died about 1655. Johannes, then aged

8, became a prosperous merchant of New Castle, a magistrate, and member of Penn's assembly and council. He married the daughter of Elizabeth and Henry Cousturier, the latter a French gentleman and trader at New Amsterdam and New Amstel. His sister, Marrietje, married the English Edmund Cantwell. Their mother, Gertrude, married in 1657, Jacob Crabbe, who in that year had a plantation on the river below the present Battery. What became of little Anna, the writer does not know. Gabriel de Haes, of New Amsterdam, who may have been a brother of Jan Roeloff, was often on the river.

Alexander Boyer, interpreter and also quartermaster at Fort Nassau, became a permanent resident, with his Swedish wife (name not known) and children at Fort Casimir. The children were John, Josyn, and Thomas. John became a soldier at the fort, then a farmer at the site of Wilmington and finally a boatman and sheriff at New Castle. It was he who bought the site on the Strand and built the Tile house in 1687, which his daughters inherited and sold to Joseph Wood, sheriff and landowner at New Castle in Penn's time. The surname of John Boyer's wife has not been found. His sister Josyn (Josie) married first a young soldier, John Marshall, by whom she had several children; following Marshall's death, she married William Semple, a substantial citizen and magistrate of New Castle, and by him had a daughter Margaret.

Claes Pieterson, the smith, had a lot laid out for him on the Strand in 1652 but did not receive his deed until 1657. Pieter Laurensen the same. Others among the earliest householders were Peter Harmensen, Harman Jansen, and Reynier Dominicus. The earliest group included also four Englishmen, Dutch citizens; they or their ancestors were probably refugees to Holland from religious persecution. They were William Morris, whose name is spelled in all the Dutch records, Willem Maurits, or variations of that spelling, Simon Lane, Simon Root, and Thomas Brown. Morris in 1652 was the first owner of the Tile house site; a merchant, he was appointed inspector of tobacco by the Dutch and married Catherine, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Thomas Brown.

That this first little settlement of colonists and soldiers and their families had a fairly good life in the next few years can be read in and between the lines of the scattered records. Yachts and sloops of independent Dutch traders and the New Amsterdam galiot (heavy single-masted Dutch cargo boat) of the West India Company, its master Captain Jacob Jansen Huys, came and went. An occasional English sloop from Virginia or Maryland came to trade. Indians were friendly and so were the Swedes at Christina and up the river. The Swedish farmers complained against their Governor Printz in this period that he ordered them not to trade with the Dutch, but if the Dutch wanted anything, he provided them with the goods himself.

There were misfortunes and at least one colonist, Jan Schut, was robbed and killed, presumably by the Indians. Jan was one of the Fort Casimir agents for New Amsterdam traders. He received their goods to sell and was allowed a half-share of the profits. A short time after his death his wife married Jan Nagel, and in the court at New Amsterdam in 1653, a trader, Cornelis Jansen Ceole, demanded of Nagel payment for the goods sent to Schut at the South River. Nagel's answer was brief and to the point, that Jan Schut gave his life in defense of the goods, which was sufficient payment.

Printz reported in 1653 that twenty-six families of Hollanders lived at Sand Hook. Also we know that the soldiers had cleared land north of the fort at the site of the present Immanuel Church glebe and above it, and that several other Dutch plantations were under cultivation not far from the present center of New Castle.

There was no windmill yet to make of this little outpost of Dutch life a complete Hollandish picture, but there must have been a tall well sweep that, with the fort and the high gable of the house within the walled enclosure, provided accent for the little row of small houses and gardens. The whole must have looked like a toy Dutch village. The effect would be heightened by a lively population of adults and children in characteristic costume — the traders did a good business

in clothing and materials for making it. Boys and girls rolling hoops, flying kites in season, and, whenever there was ice, skating on the polished hardwood runners made by their fathers, or playing the Dutch equivalent of ice hockey. Dutch parents entered into much of their children's play; long hours were spent fashioning toys and, in addition to the necessary household furnishings, the small sized duplicates that children love. Pigs, goats, cattle, including at least one pair of oxen belonging to the fort, would be on the scene. Chickens they probably had though not needed for food — wild game was too plentiful, but geese, like puppies and tamed rabbits, were normal accompaniments of Dutch family living.

Swedish Interlude

In the spring of 1654, when for almost three years, Peter Stuyvesant had stretched a long protecting arm from the council chamber at Manhattan to the colony he had founded on the South River, the need of defending the province on the Hudson from threatened attack by New Englanders raised the question as to whether Gerrit Bicker and his soldiers should be brought from Fort Casimir to Manhattan. Desperate as the need was on the strength of "alarming rumors," Director-General Stuyvesant said after discussion in the council meeting that withdrawing all the company of soldiers from Fort Casimir was "equivalent to giving up absolutely the possession and to surrender that fine river to others." Meanwhile, at the very time this discussion was taking place, Gerrit Bicker, enjoying the delights of a peaceful spring on the Delaware, had let the fort run out of powder for firing its guns, used up for hunting, probably, and Indian trade before a new supply was due.

On the last Saturday in May, 1654, the date of the decision at Manhattan not to recall Bicker, a large ship came to anchor on the east side of the river some distance to the south of Fort Casimir. Captain Bicker saw it and sprang to action. He ran up the flag of the Prince of Orange over the fort, hustled Adrian Van Tienhoven, then serving as a civil officer, and four colonists into the fort's small boat to visit the

ship and find out of what nation she was and the intentions of her master.

The master of the ship, the "Orn" (Eagle) was the Swedish Johan Rising with an expedition of people and supplies for the Swedes up the river. Captain Bicker, knowing that Governor Printz had gone home and that the friendly Swedes were in great need of supplies was prepared to welcome Rising as a friend and make no objection to his passage up the river. But Rising, the next morning, contrary to his instructions from his government, demanded surrender of the fort and allegiance of the Dutch to the Swedish crown. Bicker in his powderless fort, helpless to make any show of armed resistance or even to answer the menacing salutes of the "Eagle's" guns, tried to delay the conclusion, kept a friendly demeanor, argued with sweet reasonableness, requested days of delay, which were not granted. Rising landed his men, who frisked the side arms from Bicker's nine soldiers, and took possession in the name of Queen Christina.

Thus Captain Gerrit Bicker from the moment he sighted the Swedish ship seems to have kept his head, to have done all that a sensible man could do in the circumstances. His play for time before surrendering the fort was no doubt his faith in the might of Peter Stuyvesant if he could get him word. Before he knew of Rising's hostility, he must have sent off the Indian who took immediate word to Stuyvesant of the Swedish ship in the river. Stuyvesant, like Bicker, desired peace, and sent a return message of friendliness to the "Swedish commander." But his rage, when he heard of the taking of Fort Casimir and Bicker's surrender of it, must have rumbled down the piedmont to shake the rocks at Fort Christina with waves of Calvinist predestination.

The Swedes changed the name of Fort Casimir to Fort Trinity for the Trinity Sunday on which it was taken, required all the Dutch citizens to appear at Fort Christina on a set day, and there in the open air with the Swedish flag flying over them to swear allegiance. Liberal terms were offered them, even the soldiers who had cleared land north of Fort

Casimir were allowed to go ahead with its cultivation, but in payment for the injury to the Swedes by the building of Fort Casimir, each Dutchman was required to give fourteen days of work toward rebuilding the fort now called Trinity. Andries Hudde, the surveyor, was offered employment by Rising to make maps of the river. Hudde, like the others took the oath perforce, but he appealed to Stuyvesant for a job at Manhattan, teaching preferably, and to ask Stuyvesant's approval to earn the money for the maps meanwhile. That loyal friend to Hudde gave his approval.

Rising refused the privileges of Swedish citizenship to a few of the people he found at Fort Casimir. The Swedish engineer, Peter Lindestrom, and the Swedish captain, Sven Skute, were unprepared for freedom of speech as used by these Dutch, and Rising's officers, Lieutenant Johan Papegoja and Gregorius Van Dyck, head guard, hauled two of them before Rising, Adrian van Tienhoven and Cornelis de Boer. Alexander Boyer and his wife and Simon Root, who had sworn fealty with the rest, left for Manhattan soon afterwards, probably in a trader's vessel that slipped down the river in the night. Most of the Dutch soldiers and several more colonists got away to Stuyvesant as soon as their fourteen days were served.

The remainder of the Dutch community stayed till the following spring. What their life was like can only be guessed. Swedish families were allotted the vacated houses and lands of those Dutch who left. Rising reported to Sweden that the Dutch gave him much trouble, but that he treated them fairly and held courts to settle their difficulties with justice. One of the cases was the trial of his own distinguished engineer, Peter Lindstrom, who with another Swede was brought into court by several of the original residents at Fort Casimir for beating up their fellow citizen, Simon Lane, in the fort. But Lane "remitted the case," though his friends took this hard, so Lindestrom and his companion Peter Mort were freed.

Johan Rising, son of a Lutheran clergyman, highly educated in the universities of Sweden, and a student of commerce

and trade in European countries, showed in his reports a grasp of the advance in civilization that could be achieved by technical skill applied to this new country; but his lack of experience in administration and his blunders in diplomacy wrecked his chances of developing the Delaware region into the "jewel in the Swedish Crown" that he saw in his mind's eye.

Stuyvesant's report of the taking of Fort Casimir roused great indignation among the directors of the West India Company at the affront to themselves and their country. This spurred their aid to Stuyvesant in preparing an expedition to the South River to reclaim the whole of it from the Swedes. Meanwhile a Swedish trading vessel, the "Gyllene Haj" (the Shark), bound for Fort Christina, ran by mistake of her pilot into the North River at New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant confiscated the ship, but in his dealings about it with the master of the vessel, Hendrick van Elswick, and correspondence with Rising, was diplomatic as always when foreign relations were concerned. He emphasized that he did not protest "against her Royal Majesty's order and authority," but against the actions of her officers and servants on the Delaware — and forwarded to Rising documents naming those actions in biting terms.

In June, 1655, Rising wrote home that as the remaining Dutch had left Fort Trinity "two or three weeks ago" and gone off to Manhattan: "The land is now practically clear of Hollanders . . . . It would be well if the same thing could be said of the English." Brown, Morris, and Lane had continued to live in their houses on the Strand.

So in the fourth summer after the dramatic scenes of its founding, Fort Casimir had only a few former Dutch citizens, and several of these were of English origin. Swedes manned the fort, lived in some of the houses on the Strand, and were tenants on the outlying farms of the Dutch that had been confiscated by Rising.

Recovery by the Dutch

The rebirth of Fort Casimir at the end of that summer, like its coming into being the summer of 1651, was well planned for. For this purpose the directors in Holland sent ships

and men, and Stuyvesant hired others at Manhattan, making a fleet of seven, carrying 317 soldiers. These with the officers, the crews of the ships, the quartermaster's helpers, the laborers, artisans, most of the former colonists and others who planned to live at Fort Casimir, and the minister, Johannes Megapolensis, Stuyvesant's force, as before, was impressive. Toward the end of August a day of fasting and prayer was proclaimed and afterward the drums beat in a last call for volunteers. Care was taken, as before, to prevent word of preparations reaching the Swedes. This was successful until a few weeks before the start when Indians brought news to the Swedes; Fort Trinity was hastily provisioned.

Arrived on the Delaware the fleet, in which the warship "de Waegh" (the Balance) was of outstanding size, moved up the river close under the guns of Fort Casimir, "after breakfast" on the morning of September 10. Captain Sven Skute, the Swedish commander at the fort, had his men at the guns, but as Stuyvesant expected, the parade of so many well-armed and well-manned ships convinced him that defense was hopeless. Like the Dutch captain, Gerrit Bicker, in the face of Rising's great ship, Skute had the sense to hold his fire.

When Stuyvesant landed a company of men above the fort and demanded surrender, Skute refused, tried to brace his men to back his resistance while he played delaying tactics and got word to Rising for aid. In the end, Stuyvesant won as he had meant to do without the shedding of a drop of blood. He gave Skute and his men all the honors of "war." They marched out of the surrendered fort, fully armed, bearing the Swedish flag. While the officers were under arrest at Fort Casimir, they had a house to themselves, and by their own testimony were splendidly treated by Stuyvesant. The Swedish soldiers were put on board a Dutch vessel and sent to Manhattan. Stuyvesant's siege of Fort Christina was a longer strategy, and when Governor Rising, surrounded by the Dutch on water and land, continued to hold out in that fort, some of the Dutch soldiers got out of hand, foraged in the neighborhood, damaged property, and slaughtered cattle and hogs for their feasting.

It was hard for Rising to believe that Stuyvesant intended to take the whole river from the Swedes. Finally after demands of surrender and futile protests were exchanged, conferences on the terms of capitulation began. Stuyvesant had kept firmly to his demand that the surrender be "complete and unconditional." When this was conceded, he again agreed to generous terms and gave the Swedes at Christina the honors of war as he had at Fort Casimir.

The Swedes who remained under Dutch authority were permitted to have their own officers on the part of the river above Fort Christina. Rising, most of his officers, and some of the colonists returned to Sweden, comfortably provided for in Dutch ships.

Captain Dirck Smith was made provisional commander on the river, most of his soldiers to be at Fort Casimir, and part of a company at Christina, now re-named Fort Altena. Property adjustments were made on the spot by Stuyvesant, the plantations and town lots and houses confiscated by Rising went back to the original owners if they wanted them, and the deeds were confirmed by Stuyvesant at Manhattan in the next year, after Andries Hudde had made re-surveys. Swedes were assured of retaining their original properties, also town lots and tracts for cultivation then in their occupation if Hudde found no prior Dutch claimants. Stuyvesant must have determined at this time how the town should be laid out. His formal instruction to Vice-Director Jacquet, appointed soon afterward, to lay out another street parallel to the Strand would hardly have been written without discussion as to location. The new street was "Second Row," the present Fourth Street, north of the Green.

When Stuyvesant's fleet sailed down the river in September, 1655, leaving only one small trading vessel at Fort Casimir, nine years of Dutch rule remained before English ships sailed up the river to demand surrender of the fort and colony. During these nine years, Dutch citizenship at the site of New Castle and on the whole river, exercised through

bad times and good by officers and people — a varied assortment of individuals — established the character of the community that was to make Delaware a separate colony.

The Colony Under Dirck Smidt

Between Stuyvesant's leaving on September 28, 1655, and December 18, when the first vice-director of the colony, Jean Paul Jacquet, arrived at Fort Casimir, Captain Dirck Smidt had his hands full putting the forts, Casimir and Altena, in order, seeing that winter grain crops were planted, and scheduling the work of the soldiers who acted as laborers for such improvements. He would have to keep the peace among the colonists and with the Indians and enforce the prohibition against the sale of liquor and arms to the latter. Immediately, Indians as well as the colonists wanted favors. New and old colonists and the traders had requests and troubles. To stave off pressure, the captain evidently made promises that he would be unable to keep.

The day Vice-Director Jean Paul Jacquet assumed his duties the promises recoiled on the captain's head. The court minutes show first that "certain of" his accounts were inquired into by the vice-director and council to be sent Director-General Stuyvesant. Then the complaints were heard. The former Swedish commander, Sven Skute (written Swen Schoete by the Dutch), demanded of Dirck Smidt payment for ten schepels of rye and six of peas at 2½ florins, respectively; forty florins for some heavy beams; and he claimed still to be due him one hundred florins for the value of a bathhouse belonging to him that was standing behind the fort when the Dutch took it. The court minutes in the original are here defective and only part of Smidt's reply is preserved. He said he "lent the peas to the Company" and that the beams or ground timbers were used for the guardhouse.

The captain diverted some attention from complaints against him by making demands of his own. He claimed a table and cupboard in the fort, which he said he bought from Johan Staelcop, the constable. The constable being present

confirmed this statement. Then Smidt was offered "a satisfaction" for the table if he would sell it for the use of the vice-director. But, "as he was not willing to give it up, it was delivered to him."

On succeeding days the blows continued to fall; the director and council, having inspected the land "sowed and cultivated by order of Dirck Smidt," reported: "It is far from as much as has been reported by Dirck Smit that he had sowed and Andries Hudde declares furthermore, that no four morgen [about ten acres] of land have been sowed, including even several private lots of which he has taken possession without order, and upon which [Smidt's report] no confidence can be placed . . . . This having been agreed upon and signed by us in good faith, we are ready to confirm it by oath." Signed by the sergeants, Gysbert Braey and Hans Hopman, and by Andries Hudde.

On December 28, several Indian sachems requested a hearing for "some propositions." This was granted, and "in the presence of Director Jacquet, Andries Hudde, Gysbert Braey, Elmerhuysen Cleyn [councilor], Sander Boyer [interpreter], and several others," their first statement was that some promises had been made to them by former commander "Dirk Smit" (in regard to trade) that prices would be raised.

The promise of Dirck Smidt had to be made good for insuring peace with the Indians, and presents had to be provided for them besides. The situation was placed before the community who agreed to the prices and to raise money for the gifts by subscription. The list of subscribers provides a partial who's who at Fort Casimir for the twenty-ninth day of December, 1655. The names with the numbers of Dutch florins each person subscribed are these: the director for the West India Company, 58; for himself, 14:10; Andries Hudde, 10: 10; Capt. Jacob Jansen Huys, 13; Elmerhuysen Cleyn, 14: 10; Thomas Brown, 9; William Maurits, 9; Jan Eckhoft, 9; Cornelis Maurits, 13; Alexander Boyer, 9; Harman Jansen, 9; Jan Flamman, 13; Jan Schaggen, 9; Oloff Steurs, 6; Laars Boers, 6; Mons Andries, 4.

Of the signers, Hudde, Huys, Cleyn, Jansen, and Schaggen were Dutch, the last a farmer from North Holland who had come with the Swedes; Boyer and Flamman (master of a French ship) were presumably of French descent; Jan Eckhoft and Mons Andries, Swedes; Oloff Steurs and Laars Boers, Swedes or Finns. Brown and William and Cornelis Maurits (Morris), English.

Among the Swedish population on the river at the time were numerous Finns, whose names in the records, modified by Swedish or Dutch spelling, can seldom be distinguished as Finnish. But an occasional name in the records is followed by the designation, "the Finn." Among the Dutch, were French, English, a Scot, a Dane, a Norwegian, a Pole, whose names were often modified by Dutch spelling. The Scot, whose name was Alexander Lindesay, accepted the Dutch spelling of his name, Sander Leendertsen, and used it until after the English came.

There were a few Negroes in the colony in Jacquet's time, as servants of the West India Company. They probably worked with the soldiers at timber cutting and in the fields. And it is likely that on the Delaware as on the Hudson they were treated as were white servants, given Dutch names and their marriages and deaths recorded in the Reformed Church register. Slavery was illegal in the Netherlands and the slave trade condemned, except by those who made a profit by it. A Negro taken to that country was free from the moment he stepped on the soil, so the traders did not take them there.

The Colony Under Jean Paul Jacquet

The minutes of Jacquet's court, held in the second floor of the main house in the fort enclosure, give more than thirty additional names connected with property disputes, unpaid debts, marriage contracts, selling liquor to the Indians, petitions, and claims for damage. Several cases involved Swedes, including "Tymen Stidden" from Fort Altena, the Swedish barber-surgeon, who had Jan Schaggen in court (Schaggen's

plantation was on part of the present Immanuel glebe land, next to that of Alexander Boyer) because Jan had bought five pigs that were taken from Stidham by laborers Stidham owed money to. Schaggen who paid fifty florins for the pigs demanded the fifty florins plus twenty more for feeding them five weeks, if he was to give them up. The court ordered Tymen to come to terms with Jan. Later when Tymen failed to do so, the court appointed appraisers.

"Jurriaen Hanouw from Great Poland" was brought into court by the Dutch sergeant, Hans Hopman, as the result of a dispute over whether Hopman's title was provost or sergeant. Hanouw was willing to take orders from a sergeant but not from a provost. This is the first mention of a Polish colonist on the Delaware.

All of the names in the list of subscribers to the Indian gifts (except Captain Jacob Huys who lived on his ship or in the house of a friend) appear in the surviving property grants at Fort Casimir or nearby. Not all of those named in Jacquet's court are in the land deeds, but as thirteen pages were missing from the original Dutch land title book when it was finally translated, and as several of the early record books under the English in which Dutch grants were confirmed have been lost, all may have owned property at the time.

Recorded grants of land survive in the names of more than twenty additional householders from the beginning of Vice-Director Jacquet's period, December 18, 1655, to April 25, 1657. Among them were some who had grants in Gerrit Bicker's time: they indicate, in spite of the indifferent original spellings of the Dutch clerks who recorded them and the errors of the translators from the Dutch script, the same assortment of racial origins: Hans Albertsen from Brunswick, Jan Andriessen, Jacob Crabbe, Mrs. Roeloff de Haes (widow), Jacob de Hinse, Willem de Witt, Lucas Dircksen van Bergh, Reynier Dominicus, Pieter Ebel, Elias Emmens, Sander (Alexander) Fenix (?) There was a French ship, trading at Fort Casimir at that time, named "De Fenix" (probably Phoenix). Fenix as a surname does not appear else-

where, and it may be that this man was Sander from the "Fenix," his surname omitted. Other property holders were: Jan Gerritsen, whose town lot was on a site on present Fourth Street, west side, directly behind the present Dutch house; Constantinus Gronenburg, Pieter Hermens, Jan Hendricksen van Struckhousen, Ariaen Jacobs, three Jansens — Claes, Gerrit, and Barent Jansen van Swol, in addition to Harman Jansen of the subscribers. The others are Philip Jansen Ringo (Reingold?), Symon Lane, Pieter Laurensen, Rynier Lammertsen Moll, Jan Picolet, Claes and Harman Pietersen, Martin Rosemont, Rosier Schot (who was probably Richard Scott); Francis Smith, Cornelys Steenwick, William Tailler (Taylor?), Cornelis Theunisseu, Jan Whiller (also Willer and Wyler, and later Wheeler), David Wessels, and a man recorded only as "Gilles." Isaac Tayne had received from Peter Stuyvesant at the time Fort Casimir was retaken the verbal grant of "the house and lot of one Gilles," under the usual conditions of occupation and fencing within six months, which Tayne did not comply with. When he later asked at Manhattan for a confirmation of the grant, it was held up until Stuyvesant could find out whether Hudde or Jacquet had made use of the forfeited property for assignment to some one else. It appears that they had, for at about the same time, the house on this property, a double lot on the site of the present Read house, was the local tavern, conducted by a young man, Foppe Jansen Outhout. Foppe had been quartermaster for the whole expedition of 1655 to retake Fort Casimir. Upon return of the ships to Manhattan, he had completed his duties there and had come back to the Delaware as a permanent resident. In a long wrangle between Foppe and Isaac of which few details survive, arbitrators were appointed, but the case dragged on into the English period of the 1670's. In the end, probably upon satisfactory payment, Isaac Tayne (whose granddaughter married the first Thomas Janvier in the 1690's) had a clear title to house and garden.

The number of grants that survive from the Jacquet period with the confirmation of the earlier grants, together with whatever number were recorded in the lost pages of the

first Dutch record book, indicate that the popularity of Director-General Stuyvesant's cherished little outpost on the Delaware was growing rapidly. But Jacquet was unable to keep it growing or to maintain in contentment the community that developed in the first flush of his administration. He had a tough assignment under his instructions and obligations for dealing with the administrative, economic, and human problems at Fort Casimir — the growing pains of the future New Castle. He cast his lot with the Delaware community, however, and is revered by many living descendants in Delaware and other states.

Jean Paul Jacquet, of French Huguenot extraction, but a Dutch citizen from his youth, after serving the Dutch West India Company in Brazil for a term, returned to Amsterdam. The directors of the company in a letter to Stuyvesant, indicating that Jacquet had left the company's service and wanted to devote himself to farming, instructed Stuyvesant to allot him as much land as he would be able to cultivate. Jacquet and his family arrived at Manhattan in the ship "De Grote Christoffel" in April, 1655. Stuyvesant immediately appointed him fire warden of New Amsterdam — so he was back in the company's service — and November 29 of that year, vice-director on the South River. Jacquet was then about forty years old.

By his commission, Jean Paul Jacquet was Vice-Director and chief magistrate, charged with all matters "concerning trade, policy, justice and military"; also in regard to soldiers, ships' crews, colonists, and all officers of whatever rank. He was to govern with two associates, Elmerhuysen Cleyn, councilor and commis; Andries Hudde, secretary and surveyor, who was to do the writing and keep full records. Jacquet, with Cleyn, Hudde, and two sergeants in military cases, but with two citizens not in the employ of the company in civil cases, made up the council or court to administer law and justice. High crimes and cases of large property values or fines were referred to the director and council at New Amsterdam. Also there was appeal to that court.

The two sergeants were usually Gysbert Braey and Hans Hopman. Jan Emans and Heydrech van Bylvelt were corporals; Mattys Busaine was court messenger. More than two colonists frequently sat in Jacquet's court in civil cases. In this court, conducted as a court of common pleas, without jury, but on occasion by the appointment of arbitrators, both sides in all cases were given full opportunity to present their statements and evidence; there were few penalties. In many cases parties were instructed to come to an agreement out of court. When right was clearly on one side, the case was settled by court order immediately. In cases of debt where the debtor acknowledged debt and willingness to pay, lenient orders were given.

In the disposition of only one case of the more than fifty recorded during Jacquet's time, can an example of harsh treatment by the court be cited, and this only by leaving out the reason given for sending two men in chains on board the ketch of Mr. Allerton that was to take them to the court at Manhattan. The order of the court concluded: "That (being violent enemies) they might not injure each other." In this case Adam Onkelbach denied a charge that he had raided the garden of William Maurits, taking twenty-three cabbages. He admitted taking three, and in the course of the hearing said to the court, "The little thieves you hang, but the great ones, who use the Company for their own advantage are allowed to escape." This being written down, he signed it. He thereupon accused Sergeant Hans Hopman of selling to the Indians, for three and one-half beavers, a gun belonging to the company and declared he would prove it. And this being written down, he signed. Enough witnesses supported Ondelback's charge and other charges against Hopman to require that the evidence along with the parties be forwarded to New Amsterdam.

Although the Dutch people in the Netherlands at the time were a temperate people, drinking mostly when their work was done, on the Delaware, during Jacquet's period, Dutch, English, Swedes, and French claimed in the court to have been intoxicated when the misdemeanors of which they

were charged were committed. Whether they all were or not, the claims indicate that drunkenness was part of the picture in the colony.

It was during Jacquet's period that the first town meetings were held at the fort to decide questions concerning Indian trade, to elect tobacco inspectors, to make ordinances against violations and others requiring owners to fence their lands, also they elected Harman Jansen and Jan Eckhoft "overseers and surveyors of fences," an office that still exists in the "fence-viewers" of today.

The arrival in the spring of 1656 of colonists and supplies on a Swedish ship "Mercurius," that had left Sweden before news of Rising's surrender reached there, caused excitement at Fort Casimir. Jacquet refused to let the commander, Hendrick Huygen, take his colonists up the river, arrested him as an enemy, but permitted him to go to New Amsterdam to appeal to Stuyvesant. Meanwhile, Indians swarmed out to the vessel anchored opposite the fort, and Johan Papegoja, the officer in charge, realizing that Jacquet could not afford to turn his guns on the Indians, took the ship up the river where he landed his people and supplies. Needless to say, the Indians would receive a big treat. The ship then sailed to New Amsterdam by Stuyvesant's order.

Jacquet had been directed, in giving out plantations, to so plan that the homes of the owners, both Dutch and Swedes, should be in villages of sixteen to twenty persons for safety. But he was unable to persuade the Swedes on their scattered plantations along the river to move to new sites so they were left undisturbed on their original land, and the arrivals on the "Mercurius," almost all Finns (men, women, and children), were allowed to remain and acquire land.

During the difficulty about the "Mercurius," Stuyvesant sent to the aid of Vice-Director Jacquet, Necasius de Sille, first councilor of New Netherland, and Cornelis van Tienhoven, councilor and fiscal of the province as well as sheriff (attorney-general) of New Amsterdam. Their commission authorized them to settle the trouble arising from the ship and

its people and to "accomplish everything they believe necessary for the greater safety of the said River, the Fort, and good inhabitants thereof."

The arrival of these authorities was the signal for many of New Castle's founders to have dissatisfactions heard, with hope of remedy. At least one very useful citizen did not get what he wanted, and using his Dutch privilege appealed directly to Stuyvesant:

> To the Very worshipful, wise, valiant, the Honorable Petrus Stuyvesant, Director-General.
>
> Sir. After offering kindliest greetings it is the request of your Noble Worship's most humble and obedient servant, to be informed what my salary here with the commutation money for board, suitable for a baker, appointed to a fort, is to be. I have spoken here with their Honors, M[ynhee]r de Sille and the Fiscal Tienhoven and asked for an increase, but they did not allow me any more than 12 florins per month and a private soldier's ration, which does not satisfy me; but I shall be well satisfied, if the Noble Director-General will give me 16 florins per month and a sergeant's ration. A favorable answer hereto awaiting I remain
>
> Your Noble Honorable Worship's
> humble
> Frederick Barentsen

Stuyvesant presented the letter in court at New Amsterdam. Frederick was granted his raise.

Toward the end of Jacquet's term, during the early months of 1657, dissatisfaction with his handling of a few civil cases for damage, his disagreements with the farmers engaged to plant his own and the company's acres on shares, the high prices he permitted to be charged, and restrictions on trade created a strong faction against him among traders and people. Families moved to Maryland where better conditions were promised. Others, hearing, no doubt, that the colony of Fort Casimir was to be transferred by the West India Company to the lords-mayors of Amsterdam, may have had commitments to the company or for some other reasons preferred to live at Manhattan and moved there.

During a year and four months the colony had grown, flourished, dwindled, and all but died so far as its Dutch inhabitants within the town were concerned, if we are to take literally the statement of Evert Pietersen, the schoolmaster who arrived with the new director for the colony, Jacob Alrichs, on April 25, 1657: that they "found 20 families here, mostly Swedes, not more than 5 or 6 families belonging to our nation." Farmers in the neighborhood, some of whom were property owners in the town as well, held fast to their property; continuation of titles to most of the town houses and plots indicates that a good part of those who left toward the end of Jacquet's period had not forfeited their property and came back later as permanent residents.

Had Jacquet been able to keep the people contented, it seems certain that he would have kept his office as vice-director for the West India Company over all the territory on the river outside the Fort Casimir colony. As it was, Stuyvesant reluctantly removed him from office a few days before the arrival of Alrichs, but directed him to remain to assist in the transfer of authority and property to Jacob Alrichs.

Director Alrichs, as one of his first jobs, made an investigation into the chief cases against Jacquet and reported to Peter Stuyvesant, "I have heard and examined the matter and thus found that there was more passion than reason [at the bottom of it]." Jacquet went to New Amsterdam for a final hearing before director and council and agreed to do his part in the adjustment of the cases against him. He was free then to return to the Delaware, to devote himself to farming, which he did, not at Long Hook as tradition wrongly implies, but on a large farm "south west of the Christina, sloping toward the fort" — Fort Christina, then the Altena of the Dutch. He served as magistrate under the Duke of York at New Castle, kept the ferry across the Christina until he refused to be bothered with it, and died on that farm in 1685. His son Peter of Swanwyck bought from William Maeslander in 1722 part of the original Long Hook tract, 150 acres with houses and other buildings.

The Colony Under Director Jacob Alrichs

During the year 1656, the West India Company, in debt to the burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam, came to an agreement with these city fathers to take over the colony of Fort Casimir in payment. The burgomasters as commissioners for "the City's colony" planned a town to be governed on the same principles as Amsterdam and made articles of agreement to appeal to prospective citizens. In terms more liberal than the West India Company's autocratic form for its settlements, they provided for the election of three burgomasters by the citizens at large from the "honestest, fittest and richest" and the nomination of ten to fourteen persons for magistrates from which the director should select five or seven. When the town contained two hundred or more families, a common council of twenty-one persons was to be chosen by the citizens to act with the burgomasters and magistrates as a governing body; the magistrates handled all civil cases up to one hundred guilders' fine and all criminal cases. If values or fines of more than one hundred guilders were involved, such cases went to the director-general and council at New Amsterdam; and appeals were allowed for criminal cases, to the same. In addition to the director, there was to be his staff and a schout, or sheriff, whose duties included those of a modern attorney-general.

The strongest appeal to the Dutch to emigrate to the colony on the Delaware lay in the pledge of the commissioners to bear the cost of transportation of individuals and families and their possessions (to be paid back on easy terms later); to support the colonists free of charge for one year with food, clothing, and seeds for planting; to keep a well-stocked store of necessaries for sale at Amsterdam prices and a warehouse for their goods in trade; as much land as they wanted without taxes for ten years; the town to be laid out in streets and a market, and to have public buildings. Above all a schoolmaster, commissioned also to read Holy Scripture and to set the Psalms, would be maintained in the colony. The States General ratified these arrangements on condition that

when there should be two hundred inhabitants, a church should be established with a clergyman.

The Dutch poet, Jacob Steendam, living at Manhattan from 1652 to 1660, later supplemented these appeals with lyric descriptions addressed to

> You poor, who know not how your living to obtain;
> You affluent, who seek in mind to be content;
>
> .....
>
> [Go to New Amstel where]
> The birds obscure the sky, so numerous in their flight;
> The animals roam wild, and flatten down the ground;
>
> .....
>
> . . . a living view does always meet your eye,
> Of Eden, and the promised land of Jacob's seed;
> Who would not then in such a formed community,
> Desire to be a freeman; and the rights decreed
> To each and every one, by Amstel's burgher Lords,
> T'enjoy? and treat with honor what their rule awards?

The name New Amstel for the city's colony was for Amsterdam itself, which grew from a small fishing hamlet near a crossing of the Amstel River. Amstelveen is a section of the present great city through which the Amstel River flows. The Amstel station, a great modern passenger depot in the city, is regarded as the finest in the world.

The ship "Prince Maurice," largest of the several ships which brought the city's director, Jacob Alrichs, his wife, officers, soldiers, and the first emigration of Dutch directly from Holland for the Delaware, was wrecked March 8, 1657, in a storm off the shore of Long Island. The people aboard and the greater part of their possessions and the ship's cargo were saved. With Stuyvesant's help, the officers and most of the people, with much of the goods, were sent to New Amstel in a smaller ship, the "Vergulde Bever." This was after the formal deed of transfer was signed at New Amsterdam, April 12, from Stuyvesant for the West India Company to Alrichs representing the commissioners of Amsterdam.

The "Vergulde Bever," carrying about 128 persons for the colony, reached New Amstel, April 25. Some additional colonists and thirty-eight soldiers among the emigrants (who were Dutch farmers from the German border of the Netherlands) came overland with Captain Marten Krieger soon afterward. Krieger, formerly in the West India Company's service, had been one of the "godfathers" at the founding of Fort Casimir. As lieutenant under Krieger came Alexander D'Hinojossa. Gerrit van Sweringen (spelled also Van Sweeringen and by many of his descendants, Swearingen) was quartermaster of the expedition. Abraham van Rynevelt came as secretary of the new government. He died October 28, 1658, leaving his property to Van Sweringen, who upon Alrichs' recommendation had been made commis of the colony.

May Day, 1657, at New Amstel must have presented a lively scene. About as many people were there — men, women, and children — as had been present at the building of Fort Casimir. The town now had two main streets of houses and gardens, the Strand and Beaver Street (earlier called the Second Row and now Fourth Street), with the Green or "Market plain" between. New houses were going up rapidly, while the fort was being repaired under Jacob Alrich's direction, along with the necessary public buildings, as fast as materials could be secured. Carpenters, smiths, and masons were in the colony, some of them old residents.

Jacob Alrichs, native of Groeningen, said to have been chosen director as a businessman, at once proved himself so meticulous in keeping down expenses of the Amsterdam commissioners that complaints to Stuyvesant and to the Netherlands began within a few weeks. That the new director had accomplished a good deal in a short time can be read in a letter, written August 10 by Evert Pietersen, the schoolmaster who came with Alrichs. Pietersen tells of the rich natural resources of the land and that nothing is wanting for the success of the colony but a thousand or two of "hearty farmers." He reports that wharves are laid out and almost built, land given out and almost ready for getting the winter grain in the ground.

Pietersen's second letter, written two days later, gives a more intimate view of the life of the community:

Domine Hendrick Ruileus:

Emanuel!

Reverend Brother in Christ Jesus. Wishing you all bodily and spiritual blessing in Jesus Christ, I hope this will find you and your family in good health. I thank the Lord heartily for my own health. We have received very joyful news by the ships which have arrived from the Fatherland at the Manhattans, or at New Amstel. We learn "De Wagh" is coming with a galiot, bringing about four hundred people, among whom is the preacher, called Johannis Weelius [Everardus Welius], and also my son, Arent Evertsen, a miller who comes over as super cargo. It makes me very glad to see my children thus prospering. My son Jan Evertsen, goes daily to the office of the Director to write, for which he receives his thanks [praise]. He is on the road to success. We look with longing for the arrival of this ship "De Wagh" and trust that under Divine Providence, we shall soon hear of her arrival. If any mishap should befall her, we would suffer a great famine this winter. I must further tell you, that I am engaged in keeping school, with twenty-five children in it; but I have no paper nor pens for the use of the children, nor slates and pencils. As soon as winter begins and they can no longer work on the soil, old and young will come to school, and learn to read, write (and cipher). But I have nothing, from which to teach them. To keep school here, is something of a novelty, as it has not been done before. The books mentioned on the enclosed memorandum, please to take care that they be sent by the first ship, for I am especially in need of them. Please to speak to van Beeck, as to the price at which I am to sell them. Let the paper and books be packed separately, for if they get into the Director's hands, we cannot get them. . . . I have also written to van Beeck, that our steward, Cors. Jansen, has robbed the magazine. He was caught at it by the soldiers and banished from the river for twenty-one years, and neither he nor his children may enter into any public service. I expect a letter from you next spring, with information in it of what our colonists write home, as great complaints are heard here against our Director. He does not observe the ninth and twenty-fifth articles [promising the implied sufficiency of food and clothing free and all other needed supplies for sale at reasonable prices]; for the colonists are obliged to buy everything at fixed prices, when they need anything. They are also put on rations; seven pounds of bread; four of

wheat, two cups [pints] of ground barley; one cup of peas, one pound of codfish, per week; a child on half rations; one quart of oil, half a pint of vinegar; but the men, who go to work in the woods daily, cannot live on this. Hence there is a great deal of murmuring. One has written this, and another that, to their friends at home. So much discontent has been created, that about thirty families, living at the Manhattans, who were ready to come here to the South River, have remained in their places, because of the ill-intentioned writing from here, that the people suffered hunger. I fear that such rumors circulating in the Fatherland, will stay this good work. Write me also of the war between the Swedes and Danes, and send a part of the Gazettes, that I may have something else to read. Herewith closing and commending you to God's protection I salute you, with your dear wife and children, most heartily. Please to send the enclosed letter to my wife.

Your friend,

Mr Evert Pietersen

According to his instructions, Evert Pietersen's duties, in addition to teaching the three R's, embraced the development of Christian character in the young people of New Amstel, and "he is to give heed to their manners and bring them as far as possible to modesty and propriety; and to this end he is to maintain good discipline and order, and further to do all that is required of a good, diligent and faithful schoolmaster."

Pietersen was the highest paid teacher in New Netherlands, forty florins per month plus house and some maintenance. In 1660, he went to New Amsterdam to teach, his son Arent taking his place at New Amstel.

The low rations provided free by Alrichs in his interpretation of the agreement of the Amsterdam commissioners to provide the colonists with food for a year meant that what they could not add from their gardens and by hunting and fishing they must buy out of their wages, or charge against future profits. Jacob Alrichs, aware of the complaints, had written to Stuyvesant that his supplies were short, had ordered two thousand pounds of bacon, and in August on Stuyvesant's advice, ordered large quantities of food to see the colony through the winter.

Director Alrichs, a conscientious man, hampered by misfortunes beyond his control, still might have kept the community he built growing steadily in population had it not been for what Stuyvesant called his too great preciseness. When he limited the freedom of movement of the colonists, refusing passes to visit New Amsterdam at their own expense, Stuyvesant advised him "not to be so rigid." His rigidness was caused partly at least by his alarm over the death of so many colonists from an epidemic of "fevers"; and the slipping away secretly of many colonists to New Amsterdam and Maryland.

Peter Stuyvesant paid a visit to New Amstel in May of 1658. Complaints of smuggling at Fort Altena and of "great frauds" in the collecting of the customs at New Amstel had been made to him by the merchants of New Amsterdam. These merchants, who paid full import and export duties to the West India Company, could not compete with the South River merchants, who received goods directly from Amsterdam and paid none. With characteristic thoroughness, Stuyvesant listened to and adjusted problems of the Swedish officers in their territory above the Christina, reorganized the garrison at Fort Altena, and laid out a town there behind the fort, where the one started by Governor Rising had been overrun in September, 1655. During this visit he was entertained by Director Alrichs at New Amstel and had full opportunity to exercise his keen insight into the affairs of the community. Alrichs apologized for the "poor reception and simple entertainment" his facilities afforded and asked his Honor to "take the good heart and will for the deed."

Upon receiving Stuyvesant's report of conditions on the South River, the directors of the West India Company authorized him to appoint a vice-director there, who would live at Fort Altena, have the duties of commis and the rank of auditor, and serve as collector of customs for the company at New Amstel.

Stuyvesant appointed "Willem Beeckman, a citizen and old inhabitant" at New Amsterdam, at the same salary that Vice-Director Jacquet had received: fifty guilders per month,

two hundred guilders annually toward maintenance, with living accommodations provided. Beekman was directed to make his headquarters at Altena, but since he must reside frequently at New Amstel, he was to rent a suitable room or house there for a year at a reasonable price. He took the oath of office at New Amsterdam, October 28, and arrived with his family on the South River in November.

The wisdom and ability of William Beekman made his presence on the river a great asset to the West India Company. It was also an asset to the colony of New Amstel and to the people there. His courage and good sense rebuked the frivolous nature of some of their activities and complaints, and his active help in the real troubles of the director and inhabitants was at their service when called for.

Under Alrichs, in spite of all the drawbacks, a stable basic community was established. While the population rose to a peak of six hundred in 1658 and gradually declined before the time of the director's death at the end of December, 1659, his work and the loyalty to the town of enough of those colonists, called by Stuyvesant, "good people," insured the survival of the town that remained a capital on the river. Events and incidents and the general life during Alrichs' term, through storms, floods, illness, and death, reveal in and between the lines of the records that some of the amenities of Dutch life in the fatherland were here.

In August, 1657, in preparation for the coming of a Dutch Reformed minister, Andries Hudde sold his house on the Strand "to the Honorable Director Jacob Alrichs in the presence of Schepens [magistrates] and municipality, to be used as a church for the benefit of the community." The site was that of present Nos. 26 and 28. On the ship "De Waegh," arriving a short time later with a large quantity of supplies, came Domine Everardus Welius and "more than 200 colonists," including farmers and tradesmen, many with their families. With the "De Waegh," also came a new galiot for the use of the colony, appropriately named the "New Amstel." Captain Jacob Jansen Huys was master.

The church was then organized with a consistory of two elders and two deacons. Jacob Alrichs and Jan Willems were the elders; Evert Pietersen was one of the deacons; the other name is lost. Hudde's house was remodeled in the fall to make it more suitable for a church.

From his letters to Stuyvesant and his reports to the directors in Amsterdam, an understanding of Alrichs along with the problems and achievements of his administration can be gained through his own words. The following excerpts are in point:

> But before, and immediately on, my coming, lots or grounds were distributed and shown to every one, in order to their being regularly built on and fenced.
>
> And before I had been a month here, I proposed to all those inclined to agriculture to look up land themselves for their satisfaction, which they did. Moreover, I allowed to be measured out to every one as much land as he required and marked, as more fully appears by the written record sent to the gentlemen at home.
>
> Furthermore, I found here few or no [public] buildings therefore, since all goods were to be secured against the rain and from being taken away, I had first built a large house . . . for a dwelling, a storehouse and other necessary conveniences. And as the [part of the] fort was small, where the married soldiers with their wives and children were not well sheltered and would not live, I had erected, right under the fort, a long barrack, . . . covered with reed, also, divided into 11 co[m]partments; likewise, inside the fort, a guard-house . . . Afterwards, in the square [of the fort] a bakehouse . . . covered with borrowed tiles. I had, also, one-third of my dwelling raised and improved with a square loft covered with tiles in order to be lodged somewhat dry. As a dwelling for the Commis for the distribution of the rations, I built a house of square timber . . . , the roof covered with boards for want of tiles. Moreover, outside the fort I had repaired, according to exigencies, the Clergyman's house and that of the smith. *Item*: had a burgher watch-house built of logs; . . . Other public lots were, likewise, set off in the square [of the fort] so that this settlement is now pretty well looking and convenient; with 110 houses built, which, at first, afforded plenty of employment. . . .
>
> Meanwhile, agriculture was not neglected, but attended to as much as possible, according as circumstances permitted. But, on the other

hand, there came a general sickness, attended by burning fevers, etc., which sorely fatigued and oppressed the people, and made them groan. In consequence, house-building for the commencement of a city, and the tillage of the land for a suitable harvest of grain, went forward but poorly, and not so much progress followed as was desirable.

The second year was so wet and unseasonable that hardly grain enough for the people and the cattle could be saved; add to which a multitude of new cases of sickness again broke out with such severity, that nearly the tenth part of the people lingered and lived in misery, under continual sickness, fevers and langours. Fully more than 100 persons perished in consequence, and a great many cattle were lost. . . .

This summer, or the third year, I undertook a granary or barn and a new stable for the cattle; also to have the lands fenced, because the people were without means, and could not accomplish this of themselves. I began it on an advance, and allowed between 400 and 500 rods of fence to be made; *Item*: enlarged by one-half the church or place where service was performed on Sundays. Some considerable victuals were given on this occasion, for, where everything is done voluntarily or by free labor here, one must attend to, run after and keep all things in view where many works are meanwhile going on for the improvement of this place, and whatever agriculture demands.

In Jacob Alrichs' long series of letters to Director Stuyvesant at Manhattan, beginning immediately after his arrival at New Amstel, and in the long report to Burgomaster Cornelis de Graeff from which these excerpts are taken, developments may be followed in detail. He speaks of his house as "in the fort," and insists upon having the "square of the fort" swept and cleaned on Sundays as on other days. The area inside the outer wall of the fort in the only drawing preserved of it, with scale attached, must have been at least 30,000 square feet. It was 210 feet along the shore side, and while this drawing, made by the Swedish engineer, Peter Lindestrom, after the fort had been rebuilt as "Fort Trinity," is a front elevation, making it difficult to gauge the width, the inner wall and the gabled roof of the main fort building itself indicate that the depth was more than half and might have been equal to the length. Director Alrichs gives the size of the store building and dwelling for the commis as 54 by 27 feet, the first story 10 feet, with

a loft under the roof. The two-story bakehouse was 18 by 32 feet.

A short time after Director Alrichs' long report was written and mailed in August, 1659, he was again ill, and most of his business was being conducted from his bed. He was in his new large house on the Strand, which the workmen had been a long time building and had but recently finished. This fact comes out in a letter to the commissioners in Holland written by Gerrit van Sweringen, who since the death of Secretary Rynevelt the year before, had been serving, much against his inclination, as sheriff and councilor. On November 29, Alrichs released Van Sweringen for three months and put his nephew, Cornelis van Gezel, in charge of the storehouse and in the office of secretary.

The director had been asking the commissioners at Amsterdam to send him a clerk and a bookkeeper; and throughout his administration he wrote for more clothing, food, building materials and farm implements to be sent to meet the needs and demands of the colonists. That the burgomasters of Amsterdam failed to provide these during Alrichs' last months, except in meager quantity compared with the need, was a direct violation of contract with the colonists. Alrichs, who had been too close in distributing and selling supplies in the first few months at New Amstel, continued to bear the brunt of the people's clamor and the blame for the desertions to Maryland and Manhattan.

On December 9 of that year, 1659, the Reverend Everardus Welius died. Skipper Jacob Jansen Huys wrote to Amsterdam some days later, "The death of Everardus Welius, our Minister . . . has caused deep sorrow here and especially among the virtuous, who now are almost disconsolate." Captain Huys, with his ship-carpenter and pilot, had worked with the carpenters serving the colony to remodel Andries Hudde's house for the church.

The elders of the Dutch Reformed Church wrote immediately to Amsterdam of their great loss, saying that the members had increased from nineteen to sixty as a result of

the good work of Mr. Welius, and asked that a worthy successor to him be sent at once, "so that the congregation now here . . . may not . . . grow wild."

Jacob Alrichs, as an elder, signed this letter of December 12. On the same day he wrote his last letter to Peter Stuyvesant, and a last letter to the commissioners in Holland. Saying he begins to feel better, he reviews the needs of the colony, tells of the distress of the people for want of supplies, of the ruined crops, and the illness of many. He reported that the fevers and other plagues were general in New Netherland, but worst at New Amstel. "By the aforesaid occurrences," he added, "has this Colonie, like a tender plant, been crushed and down-trodden." His own bad time as director had reached its worst in the preceding months. He had permitted Colonel Nathaniel Utie of Maryland — sent by Governor Josias Fendall to make a purported claim to New Amstel in the name of the Maryland proprietor, Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore — to remain in the town several days, and with his council had given a hearing to the colonel's representative. Alrichs was afraid to arrest Utie and his attendants because the people of New Amstel were discouraged, and many of them wanted to leave anyway. If Utie's threat to take the place by force were carried out, he might lose the colony.

When Alrichs immediately appealed to Stuyvesant for aid, after he had secured a stay of the threatened attack for several weeks, that seasoned caller of bluffs was furious. He sent Captain Marten Krieger, then first burgomaster of New Amsterdam, with a company of soldiers, and Cornelis van Ruyven, the secretary of New Netherland, as commissioners to investigate and to act for the good of the colony.

These commissioners had no love for Alrichs nor Alrichs for Krieger. Marten Krieger had refused to co-operate with the director when he was in command of the New Amstel garrison in the beginning of Alrichs' administration, with apparent fault on both sides. Now, with the authority of Stuyvesant behind them and a free hand, Krieger and Van Ruyven constituted themselves investigators, prosecutors, and judges in

condemnation of Alrichs' whole administration. Stuyvesant was taking care of the Maryland issue by sending there other commissioners, so the issue that brought Krieger and Van Ruyven to New Amstel could be forgotten, except for the advice to Alrichs to maintain a large garrison. In detail, in writing, they examined the state of the colony, attributing every defect to Alrichs' failures in judgment and duty. When presented with this "exhibit," Alrichs answered, hitting back in kind, but also setting forth the hampering and desperate conditions (borne out by the records) through which he had brought the colony to its unhappy state at that moment, and protested that he would need more assistance to restore tranquility to the community as a result of the visit of these supposed friends than was needed against the trouble caused by the English of Maryland.

Jacob Alrichs died on December 30 that year. His wife had died the previous January. They had no children. Alrichs had arranged with Alexander D'Hinojossa to take his place as director until the commissioners in Holland could be heard from and with Gerrit van Sweringen to come back into the government. He left his nephew, Cornelis van Gezel, in the position of secretary and made him sole executor of his estate. Peter Alrichs, also a nephew, was in New Amstel at the time, but nothing is known of his relations with his uncle, except that Peter seems to have been for a time employed by him. Both Peter Alrichs and Van Sweringen threw in their lots with the provisional director, D'Hinojossa.

The Colony Under Alexander D'Hinojossa

Expecting that Alrichs might die soon, both Van Sweringen and D'Hinojossa wrote secretly to the commissioners at Amsterdam protesting their devotion to the interests of the lords-mayor and defending themselves against future criticism by emphasizing the faults of Director Alrichs, which, they said, prevented them from carrying out their duties properly. D'Hinojossa, writing on December 12, the date of Alrichs' last letter, set forth what he could do toward the great benefit of the colony if the commissioners would authorize him to act

(over the head of the director), and if they would provide the means. At the same time he asked permission to go to Holland to tell verbally what he could not put in writing about the "low state of the Colony," adding enough criticism of Jacob Alrichs to show where all the blame would fall. He craved pardon for his boldness and ended the letter praying for, and asking blessings on, the administration of the commissioners, "so that we may live peacefully and quietly under it, in all godliness and uprightness. Amen!" His exclamation point must have accorded with the raised eyebrows of Amsterdam's city fathers. But they finally fell for his protestations after they heard of Alrichs' death and that D'Hinojossa was provisionally in authority through the selection of Alrichs himself, whose letter of December 12 showed complete innocence of the depth of D'Hinojossa's perfidy.

Early in January William Beekman, in a letter to Stuyvesant from Fort Altena, reported that D'Hinojossa had established himself at once "somewhat sharply and harshly" and that the inhabitants wanted Stuyvesant to come down to put things in order and appoint another director.

Before the end of January, 1660, D'Hinojossa had removed Cornelis van Gezel from office, kept Van Sweringen as sheriff and secretary, and chosen Jan Crato, councilor. For the court in extraordinary cases, he associated with them the surgeon Willem van Rasenburg. Later Jan Willems and Joost de la Grange were councilors. Hans Block was constable. Meanwhile, Mr. Beekman added in his letter:

> While dictating this letter the nephew [Peter Alrichs] of the late Mr. Alrichs came here [to Altena] with a package of letters from Sr van Gezel, who tells me, that after my departure yesterday [from New Amstel] the honorable Schepens, the Town-Council and the City's officers [New Amstel's officers under D'Hinojossa] have been summoned by Mr. Hinojossa, which so far has been done nearly every day during his Honor's administration; he wanted them to attest that the late Mr. Alrichs had governed badly, which was refused by them, nor would they appear upon the third or fourth summons. Then Elmerhuysen [Cleyn]

> and Sr. Willem [Jan Willems] were discharged and Mr. Evert [Pieterson], the precentor, taken to the fort by the Sheriff, the sergeant and 4 soldiers, to give evidence against the late Director. [There is no indication that he gave it.] At the same time they arrested Van Gezel in the fort, maintaining that he had incited the community against his Honor, so it is evident that a great confusion will follow.

D'Hinojossa's anger at Van Gezel resulted from the failure of the new director's effort to take over both Van Gezel's responsibilities as executor of Jacob Alrichs' estate and the custody of both the personal and public property. Van Gezel managed to get an inventory to Stuyvesant, who instructed Beekman to take part in reviewing the whole affair in the interest of some West India Company property in Alrichs' charge when he died.

In the meantime Van Gezel escaped to Altena under Beekman's protection. D'Hinojossa then took from Van Gezel's house a large mirror and paintings belonging to Van Gezel and his wife, in lieu of the fine he assessed against Van Gezel for nonappearance. On a later occasion, D'Hinojossa had the furnishings of Van Gezel's house attached, but his wife secretly transported most of them to Altena. Then upon hearing of the order for her arrest, Mme Van Gezel left her baby in safe hands at New Amstel because she feared its crying would betray her and slipped away to join her husband at Altena. D'Hinojossa arrested the baby and kept it under arrest for three days. The baby survived and was an ancestor of Judge Richard S. Rodney and other living Delawareans.

Jan Gerritsen van Marcken, being at Evert Pietersen's house the day D'Hinojossa's delegation of sheriff and soldiers arrived to take Evert to court, commented with sarcasm on the sheriff's part in it. For this offense Jan was charged with "slander, sedition, mutiny and other misdemeanors," imprisoned, and then banished from New Amstel; but before sending him off they forced him to pay a large fine, which Hendrick Kip advanced for him.

Van Gezel's and Jan Gerritsen's appeals to Stuyvesant were promptly dealt with. Stuyvesant restored Gerritsen to his status before the arrest on the ground of there being no

evidence that he deserved the punishment given him and because the officers at New Amstel had acted "as plaintiffs, prosecutors, witnesses and judges, which cannot be admitted in law." With the inventory ordered by Stuyvesant of Jacob Alrichs' estate, D'Hinojossa's revenge against Cornelis van Gezel was circumvented. In the words of William Beekman:

> The property of the late Mr. Alrichs has been inventoried [in the courtroom of the fort at New Amstel] according to Your Honor's order and is packed and shipped. D'Hinojossa was present about half a day, afterwards he absented himself grumbling and murmuring accusing us on the 3d or 4th day, that we had inventoried the City's property [that belonging to New Amstel as the colony of the city of Amsterdam] . . . whereupon we answered, that he ought to have remained present to give us information, as the city's socks, shoes and other property were strewn over the whole room, that we constantly had to step on it. His honor said further, that the City would take it ill, that their courtroom was so despoiled of chairs, books, pictures and other things, that Your Noble Worship will have enough to answer for in this matter . . . and with many more details.

But D'Hinojossa had concealed some of the official books and papers of Director Alrichs and, when challenged, refused to give them up.

Beekman reported on the same date as the above, June 30, 1660, that while at the tavern of Foppe Jansen with Evert Pietersen, Hendrick Kip, and others, they all represented to Mr. D'Hinojossa, who was there with them, the necessity that he should order a court day. To this D'Hinojossa answered: "I do not intend to do it any more, it does not suit me to send some one to the Manhatans every week to defend sentences. . . . . The General withdraws my authority from me . . . he does not acknowledge me as the head of this place, but writes and titulates me my dear, beloved Lieutenant and so on . . ."

The cases that needed a court day concerned the free giving and selling of liquor to the Indians: Beekman had been embarassed by drunken savages reeling before the tavern windows while he was entertaining there, "Mr. Rendel Revel, who had come overland from Virginia." On another occasion,

"the savages had an entire anker [1/6 of a hogshead] of anise-liquor on the strand near the church and sat around it drinking."

Alexander D'Hinojossa was born in Holland. He had served the Dutch West India Company in Brazil, but nothing else about his life before he came to New Amstel with Jacob Alrichs in 1657 has been found in the translated Dutch records. His swaggering and his abuse of power and malicious persecution of colonists of all ranks during his provisional directorship must have made the freedom-loving citizens of the Dutch Republic rub their eyes in the hope that what they were living through was just a bad dream; but worse was to come. In the summer D'Hinojossa proclaimed the arrival of his official commission with the firing of guns and a great celebration. From then on he conducted the colony much like a private fief, demanding deference to his person and complaisance toward his outrageous lies and his appropriation of public and private property.

When the distressed citizens found means of getting their account of his conduct of office secretly to Peter Stuyvesant, his hatred and fear of that official as the person who could bring about his discharge, and his hatred and suspicion of William Beekman, as the person through whom the damaging facts were reaching Stuyvesant and then Holland, led him to boast of his indifference and to make threats to ruin the whole of New Netherland. There is no indication in all the many circumstantial records that D'Hinojossa was ever intemperate with liquor. Sober, he strutted about the tavern with a glass of wine in his hand, while he postured as a traitor to his country before all those citizens who were quietly talking there over their own glasses. Testimony of this was later taken by William Beekman at Altena in affidavits given by Hendrick Kip, Jr., William de Ryckeveyer, Foppe Jansen Outhout, Francois Krieger, Dominicus Sybrants, and Cornelis Martensen, as creditable witnesses among those present at the time. Each deposition was attested by Abraham van Nas, notary public. Martensen's testimony reads:

That Mr. Director D'Hinojossa said in the presence of all these to Hendrick Huygen and the whole company in a very loud voice, these following words: That they of the Manhatans with held from him all that was dear to him [respect for his title and authority] calling by name especially the Honorable Director-General and the people of the Manhatans, etc. Therefore he declared them all his enemies, even unto death. Further, that after sprinkling around a little wine out of a wine-glass with his fingers he said, If I could poison them with so much wine, and words to that effect, I would not take a spoonful to do it, charging Hendrick Huygen to tell that to them of the Manhatans. Further that the aforesaid Mr. D'Hinojossa also said, if the City should not properly sustain him and satisfy him, he would do as one Minnewit, the uncle of Hendrick Huygen, had done, who was badly treated by the Company and had introduced the Swedes here, saying, So I will go and fetch here the English or them from Portugal, the Swede or the Dane, what the devil do I care whom I serve, and repeating hereupon, Tell it openly to them and conceal nothing. Further I shall get my due revenge."

The witness added that there was much more, too long to tell, all perfectly heard out of the director's own mouth and fully remembered; and, as did the other witnesses, he offered to confirm his testimony with a solemn oath. In forwarding the affidavits to Stuyvesant, Vice-Director Beekman wrote that the witnesses requested that he not use their names in dealing with D'Hinojossa, as they feared he might ruin them. Beekman then added:

I am further informed, of which I mean to get proper evidence, that D'Hinojossa has said that, if he should be discharged and did not get proper satisfaction, he would go to Portugal or elsewhere to get a commission and then come privateering here on the coast to do damage to New Netherland and especially to those of the Manhatans, as he knew the occasions, when the ships came in and went out. The people, who have heard this at different times dare not, out of fear, make an affidavit; but if his Honor were once arrested (which could easily be done) very likely a good deal more would be made known.

This was written from Altena, June 8, 1662.

It was after this, that D'Hinojossa forwarded such accounts and complaints of the hindrances to the development of the colony of New Amstel, particularly by reason of Stuyvesant's and Beekman's "enticing" away the servants of the city

and the colonists, including farmers, that at his request he was summoned to Amsterdam to give in detail the benefits of his proposal that the commissioners take over from the West India Company the whole of the South River.

Meanwhile, before D'Hinojossa sailed in June, 1663, the most disturbing affair of his administration, the fatal shooting of an Altena soldier by Sheriff Gerrit van Sweringen, was officially ended by word from the commissioners in Holland that the sheriff had been cleared on the ground that the shooting was in self-defense. It seems clear that when he was challenged to come out into the dark street at night, by a soldier he took for the same armed youth who had defied him earlier in the evening, he could not see that the soldier toward whom he fired a charge of "duck shot," was unarmed. He said to the dying soldier, while people crowded around, that he was sorry he had shot the wrong man and that an innocent man had to die for another. But the people in their emotion over the death of the youth let loose their pent-up wrath against D'Hinojossa and stormily demanded that he send the sheriff to Stuyvesant at Manhattan. This was a bitter pill for D'Hinojossa, since the outcry was so general that no discipline would avail.

Stuyvesant "advised" D'Hinojossa and his court to hold a good and fair trial, or, if that could not be done in the colony, to transfer the hearings to Manhattan where the legal proceedings would be properly conducted. By delays, partial hearings, and more delays, the director strung things along until he could get the defense of Sheriff van Sweringen before the commissioners in Holland.

Having come off lucky with an able sheriff still in the colony's service, D'Hinojossa continued a plan for developing the trade route between Appoquinimink (Odessa), to which place he planned to move the capital of the colony, and Bohemia River. In trading schemes partly for himself and partly to make profit for the more pressing obligations of the colony, he sold to the Marylanders millstones sent from Holland for the use of the colonists, a brewing kettle, smith's bellows, linen, and other merchandise from the colony's store;

sold to the Indians new muskets that had arrived from Holland; and stripped the palisades from the fort to burn under his brew kettle. In February, 1663, William Beekman reported:

> D'Hinojossa sells everything for which he can find a purchaser, even the powder and musket balls from the magazine. I know he has sold a good deal, with a lot of nails, belonging to the City to Augustyn Heermans. Now lately he has sold his house, where the schoolmaster Arent Evertsen lives, to Jan Webber; he also offered to sell to the same Webber some buildings in the fort, where he has had a brewery erected. He proclaims daily, that he is expecting a strong succour, as he had received a letter from the Fatherland, that two ships will come in the spring and this place is to be strengthened powerfully.

D'Hinojossa also "sold the galiot" to Maryland skippers in trade for "English ware" — a good currency for buying bacon and other food supplies that he had to have ready for the new colonists.

D'Hinojossa's facile pen, his prayerfully expressed ideal of living "quietly and peacefully . . . in all godliness and uprightness, Amen!", his rosy picture of the profits and prestige to the lords-mayors of Amsterdam (if they supported his plans), a picture that rivaled in material terms the spiritual appeals of the poet Steendam, not only kept him in power, but moved those trusting gentlemen to secure the whole river from the West India Company. After D'Hinojossa's long visit to Amsterdam in the summer and fall of 1663, they sent him back to the Delaware with colonists, in addition to those arriving in the summer, with better supplies than ever before and credit for trading and expanding his enlarged fief.

During the whole bad time of D'Hinojossa's rule with its constant threat to their fortunes, the people of the little town of New Amstel who had invested their means in land and houses, making real homes for their families and improving them as circumstances permitted, held the community together. As their successors on the soil today, in a time of threatened world-wide disaster, keep their children happy in a normal

domestic and community life and go about their work and recreations in a wholesome spirit — in spite of anxiety and foreboding — so probably did the sensible Dutch citizens of the 1660's.

Many a Dutch housewife must have wanted to turn his Honor, the Director, over her knee for the belated spankings that should have been administered in childhood, and doubtless were with little effect. His childish egotism, his grabbing of what belonged to others, like a local bully among village boys, must have created an exasperation as wearing on the feelings of decent citizens as their anger at his official misconduct and his relentless persecution of persons he hated. The wife of William van Dieman wrote to Peter Stuyvesant that D'Hinojossa had taken from its mooring place a canoe belonging to her husband and when William went to him for it, said, "If it's yours, you will have to prove it." Van Dieman spent time and money to bring down the river the Swede who had sold it to him and two witnesses to the sale. After these men took oath to the transaction before D'Hinojossa, the latter refused to return the canoe but offered William the use of it on occasion, provided he paid the director a guilder a day. The same with a plough, an ox, and many other things belonging to the people.

The apogee of Alexander D'Hinojossa's power was of short duration. Though England and Holland were at peace in 1664, war between the two countries was in the making (it broke out April 20, the next year). The Duke of York, actively devoted to destroying the commercial leadership of the Dutch, had been plotting a move to take over the Dutch colonies in America. The Duke's expedition of four frigates was headed by Richard Nicolls, who was to be governor of the colonies taken from the Dutch. Nicolls reached New Amsterdam at the end of August, 1664. That Dutch city, with the guns of the frigates trained upon it and armed companies from the English colonies lying in wait on the Long Island shore, had either to resist and be destroyed or to surrender. Peter

Stuyvesant — defending the title of the Dutch in angry but cogent talk — refused to surrender when, under flags of truce, the representatives of Nicolls and of the New England states, presented to him the wisdom of accepting the liberal terms offered. Not till his own people beseeched him not to sacrifice their lives by futile resistance, did he reluctantly give in to them. He would not sign the surrender, however, and it was Domine Johannes Megapolensis, the same Dutch Reformed clergyman who had blessed the recaptured Fort Casimir in 1655, who now signed the terms for New Amsterdam. The people there were not disturbed in their property or lives. If there had been a minister of the little church on the Strand at New Amstel, when Sir Robert Carr, representing Governor Nicolls, appeared before the fort and demanded surrender on September 30, the wrongheaded D'Hinojossa, might have been constrained even at that last moment. There had been only a reader in the church since Domine Everardus Welius died at the end of 1659.

Commander Carr sent men ashore with the terms offered by the Duke of York and the promise of just rule for those who peacefully accepted his authority. There was nothing else the people could do. D'Hinojossa had denuded the fort that even if strong and well manned was no match for two armed British frigates. So the magistrates and people accepted the terms. D'Hinojossa refused to listen or to discuss but rushed his men into the fort and prepared to use what arms he had. This show of resistance resulted in brutal and unnecessary force by the British commander. He fired into the fort killing some of the soldiers and wounding others. The property of soldiers and officers was confiscated, including that of D'Hinojossa. Soldiers and Negro servants were sold to the English for supplies and comforts for the men on the ships, and the majority of the inhabitants were robbed of their farm animals and their whole harvest.

Several months before the English arrived, William Beekman had gone from the Delaware to Esopus (Kingston) on the Hudson, as commis and sheriff there. D'Hinojossa now

went to Maryland but offered to come back to the Delaware as an officer under the English. The offer was not accepted. He soon returned to Holland, was a captain in the war against France, and spent the remainder of his life in the Netherlands.

When the account of the attack upon New Amstel reached Governor Nicolls at New York, he removed Sir Robert from authority on the Delaware and installed his son Captain John Carr, a more merciful man, in his place.

From the citizens' point of view, the next period of their lives must have been thought of simply as "life without D'Hinojossa." Practically nothing else was changed for some years. Captain Carr looked after the defenses of the river, sat with the magistrates as a governing council, and together with the magistrates conducted the whole colony under the mild and considerate direction of Governor Nicolls and his successors at New York. The trade interest in England was now even more strictly mercantile in policy as expressed on paper than that of the Dutch West India Company and the lords-mayors of Amsterdam, but its application was tempered at New Castle, especially, because of the strongly held traditions and characteristics of this predominantly Dutch community. The local records continued to be written in Dutch, and the Dutch language spoken.

At New Amsterdam a long list of the inhabitants there who took the oath of allegiance to the crown of England has been preserved. At New Amstel no oath seems to have been required of individual citizens. The magistrates took the oath, "under our hands and seals in behalf of ourselves and the rest of the inhabitants the 1st day of October in the year of our Lord God 1664": Foppe Jansen Outhout, Hendrick Jansen, Gerrit Saunders Vantiell, Hans Block, Lucas Petersen, and Henry Cousturier.

Some of the founders of Gerrit Bicker's and Jacquet's time, new colonists under Jacob Alrichs, and newcomers under D'Hinojossa continued as householders under the Duke of York and some well into the Penn period. In the Dutch period the town houses were ranged along the Strand in a

"street" extending from the fort far around below the present Battery to the brickmaker's point, and along Beaver Street, earlier the "Second Row" and now Fourth Street, from present Harmony Street to the same point.

Jacquet had been able to establish in 1657 a brickmaker at New Amstel, Sr. Cornelis Hogeboom, who in a short time had four assistants. He had trouble keeping helpers, however, and Jacquet bought many thousands of bricks from Albany and New Amsterdam. At the end of Jacquet's period and later large consignments of bricks (100,000 in one consignment) and of tiles were being sent from Holland. Any person skeptical about the use of Holland bricks at New Amstel can find the truth in many surviving Dutch records.

Clothing was plentifully supplied with each new group of colonists from Amsterdam, and for purchase by the other inhabitants. One list for shipment in 1659 included 250 pairs of farmers' cowhide shoes, some women's and children's shoes, 110 pairs of men's and women's stockings, 165 pairs of children's hose, 100 "pairs" of men's and women's shirts, 250 ells of Flemish linen for children's shirts, etc.; 24 hats, 20 boys' hats, 48 English caps, 48 red caps, 600 yards of various kinds of cloth, with black and colored thread, buttons, hooks aad eyes, cords, "and other small articles." Wooden shoes were undoubtedly made and worn in and about the town, but the ships' lists show that leather shoes were also in general use.

The food imported included sugar, prunes, raisins, and currants in large quantity, cheese and spices, oil, vinegar, and French wine. The remainder of the food was bought in this country. Jacob Alrichs had great trouble getting a mill started to grind the grain and bought thousands of pounds of flour from New Amsterdam. After many disappointments a mill whose stones were turned by horsepower was built and operated near the river at about the south end of present Fourth Street. William Beekman had grain from Altena sent to "the horse-mill at New Amstel," when the mill near the Christina was not functioning.

The Dutch standard of living on the Delaware was high, as it was in Holland. In part of Jacob Alrichs' period, particularly after the lords-mayors withdrew the free food for first-year colonists, requiring that all of it be charged against the people's wages, or on condition that they farm and incur debt to the colony for what they needed in addition, some of the people must have been ill-fed. But Alrichs saw to it that those who were ill had prunes, currants, and French wine. Without these, he said, a person could hardly recover from the "ague." That type of illness affected fewer New Amstel people after Alrichs' time. Even if Alrichs and Hudde had the knowledge, that the Dutch at home possessed, for healthful drainage systems in town and country, they did not have the labor. In D'Hinojossa's time labor was more plentiful and he persuaded the lords-mayors to provide the colony with fifty Negroes suitable for farm servants. How many of these came is not certain.

High on the list of imports to New Amstel were "tubs of soap." Frequent days of prayer and fasting were set by Peter Stuyvesant, which even D'Hinojossa proclaimed by placards on the church door, although he eliminated Stuyvesant's name from the text. So along with the deviltry and back-sliding, there must have been much that was shining, without and within, among the founders of New Castle.

Note on Sources

There is no convenient arrangement in one collection of all the source material relating to the Dutch on the Delaware. The material is scattered through many printed collections, varying greatly in the accuracy of translation and comment. Some of the original Dutch papers have not been translated. Some editors and translators have omitted parts of letters and documents, occasionally without indicating the omission, so that it may be only by chance that the student comes upon a full translation elsewhere.

The most extensive documentary collection for Delaware material is the first item of the following:

O'Callaghan, E. B. (ed.). *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York.* . . . 13 vols. Albany: State of New

York, 1856-1877. Volumes I and II contain Delaware material, and items are to be found in others. Volume XII as a whole gives in translation documentary sources relating to the Delaware. This volume is invaluable for the Dutch at Fort Casimir and New Amstel, but must be used with the caution that the translation is faulty in many items and some of the original manuscripts appear only in part.

Van Laer, A. J. F. (ed.). *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts.* Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908. State archivist and historian of the state of New York, Van Laer calls attention to some of the many errors in translation in Vol. XII of the *Documents* in the *Bulletin of the New York State Library,* January 1, 1910.

Jameson, J. Franklin (ed.). *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909. This collection also gives some important additional Delaware material.

Other sources are:

Hazard, Samuel. *Annals of Pennsylvania, 1609-1682.* Philadelphia: Hazard and Mitchell, 1850. Unfortunately, this work has many minor errors.

Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, ed. by John B. Linn and William H. Egle. Vol. V. Harrisburg: State of Pennsylvania, 1874.

Corwin, Edward T. (ed.). *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York.* 7 vols. Albany: State of New York, 1901-1916. Delaware material is to be found particularly in Volume I.

Among other secondary sources:

Johnson, Amandus. *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware . . . 1638-1664.* 2 vols. New York: Appleton-Century, 1911. Much material on the Dutch of the period, referring the reader to the original sources, is included.

Ward, Chistopher. *The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609-1664.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930. The fullest treatment of the Dutch on the Delaware, with a list of authorities consulted.

For the type of people who came to America in the Dutch period and their background:

Barnouw, Adrian J., Queen Wilhemina Professor of History, Language, and Literature of the Netherlands, author of chapters on New Netherland in Volume I of *History of the State of New York,* ed.

by Alexander C. Flick, State Historian. 10 vols. New York: State of New York, 1933.

Blok, P. J. *History of the People of the Netherlands.* 5 vols. Translated by Oscar A. Bierstadt and Ruth Putnam. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898-1912. The standard comprehensive history of the Netherlands.

Vlekke, Bernard H. M. *Evolution of the Dutch Nation.* New York: Roy Publishers, 1945.

Wertenbaker, Thomas J. *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938. Chapters 2 and 3: "Netherlands, Old and New," and "For Church and Mother Tongue."

Two volumes for young people (of all ages) gives an excellent picture of Dutch life in the seventeenth century:

Girvan, Helen. *The White Tulip.* New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1944. Life in Holland is the subject for this entertaining tale.

Dilliard, Maud Esther. *The Wishing Boy of New Netherland.* New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1950. Dutch family life on Long Island under Governor Kieft is described herein. Both of these books are based upon an intensive study of authentic sources.

News Notes and Book Reports

THE Delaware State Museum was opened to the public, December 15, at its dedication in Dover, where it is housed in the Old Presbyterian Church. Under the leadership of Leon deValinger, Jr., State Archivist, and the Public Archives Commission, the campaign to make the church a museum began in 1948 and was secured by a state appropriation in 1949. The main building of the church was constructed in 1790 and served as the hall for the Delaware Constitutional Convention of 1831. The church was restored, with a minimum of remodeling for the purposes of a museum, by the commission by consultation with Albert Kruse, architect, of Wilmington. Miss Helen S. Johnson, curator, has arranged the museum exhibits in open and closed cases on the main floor and along the gallery. Life in the state is reflected in many forms and examples from various aspects of Delaware society and economy, agriculture, industry, transportation, natural resources, and history; the individual objects are displayed to present them at their fullest tactile, as well as visual, appreciation by the observer.

The State of Delaware will celebrate on Saturday, June 16, 1951, the tercentenary anniversary of settlement by the Dutch at New Amstel, now New Castle. On exhibition for the occasion will be examples of Dutch art and crafts, and historical documents concerning the period of Dutch occupancy of Delaware. Public addresses, musical programs, pageants, and folk dances in seventeenth century costume will be a part of the New Castle celebration which the Tercentenary Commission has in view. The Dutch embassy, in the spirit of the long continuing friendship between the Dutch and American peoples, is co-operating with the commission. Dr. J. H. van Roijen, Netherlands ambassador to the United States, visited New Castle December 10 and conveyed the interest taken by the government of the Netherlands in the approaching celebration. Gardens in New Castle this spring are aglow with tulips from Holland. The entire second floor of the Academy will be devoted to the display of a collection of furniture and accessories, which reflect Dutch influence but were made in England and America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The items are from the personal collection of Mr. J. Kenneth Danby, of Wilmington.

Among other exhibitions planned in honor of the anniversary of the period of Dutch control, will be a collection of seventeenth century Dutch

paintings on loan to the Delaware Art Center in Wilmington from May 6 to June 17. Also during the spring months, the Library of Congress is dedicating to the tercentenary anniversary an exhibit of manuscripts and papers relating to the colonial and Revolutionary history of Delaware.

An important collection of correspondence, concerning Delaware politics and business affairs, 1795-1870, belonging to the Brobson family, of Wilmington, has been acquired by the Society. The shipping and commercial items of the Wilmington firm of James Brobson, also a burgess and marshal, total fifty-three letters and cover the period, 1795-1797. The major portion of the collection, however, concerns the political activities, 1817-1849, of his son, William P. Brobson, who was a member of the Wilmington City Council in 1832 and editor of the *Delaware State Journal.* Several of the letters were addressed to Brobson by Thomas Clayton, United States senator from Delaware, 1824-1827, 1837-1847, and by John J. Milligan, United States representative from Delaware, 1831-1839. Correspondence, comprising thirty-two items, of the editor's sons, William and Frank, was written during the Civil War, and pertains to the war and financial and family matters.

The name of Commodore James Barron, one of the most controversial figures in American naval history in the nineteenth century, is treated sympathetically in a series of twelve letters, written between 1820 and 1823 by Captain Arthur Sinclair, of Norfolk, to Caesar A. Rodney, and received by the Historical Society. Sinclair, who had been in command of the "Congress" in 1817, when that ship took Rodney on one of his diplomatic missions to South America, turned to Rodney for help when in need of a command in 1820. Barron, who "is a persecuted individual," wrote Sinclair, was also without a ship because of the consequences of a duel which had been fatal for his opponent, Stephen Decatur, March 22, 1820. The letters were presented to the Society by Mr. Chauncey C. Nash, of Boston.

Two manuscript maps in color of the Brandywine River area near Market Street in Wilmington are a part of the collection of manuscripts, account books, and documents which have been presented to the Society by Mrs. William C. Spruance, of Wilmington. The maps, each approximately nine by thirteen inches in size, though unsigned, are in the style of Benjamin Ferris, early historian of Delaware. In addition to mills along the Brandywine, the Canby and Shipley properties nearby are also delineated. The manuscript books in the collection pertain to the mills of Thomas Lea and refer to business activity for the period, 1775-1846.

The Society has acquired a manuscript journal by Elizabeth Gilpin of her journey in September, 1830, from Wilmington to Johnstown, New York, including a visit to West Point. A manuscript book of her uncle, Thomas Gilpin, 1776-1853, an owner of the Wilmington paper mill, is another accession of the Society. The latter volume contains letters, copies of wills of the members of the Gilpin family, and documents referring to the period, 1797-1853.

Civil War records of a Delaware regiment have been given by Mrs. Herbert B. Allen, of Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania. The manuscript books contain the morning report, 1863-1864, a clothing list, 1862-1864, and a descriptive roll of the individual soldiers of Company K, Second Infantry.

Two volumes of early newspapers have been presented to the Society by Robert H. Richards, of Wilmington. *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser,* January 1 to December 21, 1794, is a significant addition to this library by offering further Philadelphia coverage for that year to the single Delaware newspaper, the *Delaware and Eastern Shore Advertiser.* The second volume, the *Baltimore Evening Post,* January 25-September 2, 1806, was published by the well-known editor, Hezekiah Niles.

Mr. Harold Hancock of the Department of History, Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, has given to the Society a group of photostats relating to the Delaware loyalists during and after the American Revolution. Among others in the collection are photostats of fifty-two documents which are on file in the Public Records Office, London. Portions of these papers were published in the March, 1950, issue of *Delaware History,* and additional excerpts will be published in the future.

A bequest of etchings and water colors by the Delaware artist, Robert Shaw, was given to the Society by Mrs. Susie L. Grier, Wakefield, New Hampshire. The six etchings include Wilmington scenes of Old Swedes Church, the Market Street Bridge, and Brandywine landscapes, and a view of Immanuel Church in New Castle. Among the eight water colors is one depicting the New Castle waterfront in the early nineteenth century, in which a stagecoach approaches the water to meet the Delaware ferry boats. Other paintings illustrate the Jacquet house, Long Hook farm, Crane Hook church, the Alrichs house, the Clark house in Delaware City, the Stidham house, and a view of Brandywine mills.

A collection of 797 glass plate negatives, of the period, 1913-1920, from the Harry W. Rushworth photographic studio, formerly at 407 Market Street

in Wilmington, has been presented to the Society by Mr. Adolf Markel, of Wilmington. One series of seventy-eight plates shows a month-by-month progression of the erection of the City and County Building of Wilmington from the digging of its foundation to its dedication. This extensive collection also contains photographs of industrial machinery, scenes of road building in New Castle County, and a miscellany of bridges, fire engines, automobiles, schools, and trolley cars.

An oil painting of Francis Vincent, prominent Delaware historian of the mid-nineteenth century and editor of the Wilmington newspaper, *Blue Hen's Chicken,* has been presented to the Society by Mrs. Francis Vincent, Jr., of Wilmington.

A two-page brochure, consisting of a chronological list of some of the most important events which have transpired in the Old Town Hall, has been prepared by Miss Ruthanna Hindes, librarian of the Society. One of the many new items of this edition concerns the Civil War draft of May 16, 1864, which was held on the steps of the Old Town Hall. Mr. Reybold, a blind young man, an appropriate choice, drew the names from a glass-sided lottery wheel. A similar wheel is on exhibit in the Old Town Hall. Election celebrations, public lectures, scientific and agricultural displays, balls, and musical programs are a few of the functions presented in this building during its period of service as a city hall.

A display of miniature furniture has been lent by Mr. J. Kenneth Danby, of Wilmington, from his personal collection for a recent exhibit in the Old Town Hall. Carefully worked by American cabinet makers of the eighteenth century, the models were once the scale samples from which the artists drew their final full-sized pieces. Among the items is a William and Mary onion foot, slant-top desk, made about 1720, which has the original brass drawer pulls and handles and a well safe. A Chippendale chest of drawers, made around 1770, and a Chippendale high chest, made around 1760, flank a Hepplewhite sideboard (c. 1795), decorated by inlay and brass. The samples of silver and brass include, in part, a miniature silver teapot, made around 1790 by Robert Evans, of Boston, and spoons by Adrien Bancker, of New York (c. 1770), and Philip Syng, of Philadelphia (c. 1780).

Three Finnish scholars who once lived in the Delaware valley were the subjects for an address by Dr. Ernest J. Moyne, of the English Department of the University of Delaware, on January 9, the fifth in a series sponsored by the Institute of Delaware History and Culture. The pietist, Peter Schafer, was a resident of Philadelphia, 1694-1709; the famous naturalist, Peter Kalm,

spent three years, 1748-1751, on the Delaware; and August Soldan, engineer and philosopher, was a professor in Delaware College, 1849-1850.

Members of the Fort Delaware Society met December 16 for an address by General Ulysses S. Grant III, president of the National Council for Historical Shrines and Buildings, concerning policies of restoration of the Fort. The Society is continuing its efforts to compile a bibliography of manuscripts pertaining to the Fort, which are located in various public and private libraries throughout the country. Among the latter is the official correspondence, in the years 1848 and 1851, between the Office of Engineers in Washington, D. C., and the engineers at the Fort, regarding the fortifications of the Delaware River. These letters, one hundred in number, are in the possession of Captain Rodney Dann, of Newark. A few of the letters concern Robert E. Lee, then a captain, and Peter Beauregard, a lieutenant.

The members of the Delaware Folklore Society met with the Friends of Old Dover at the State Museum, February 16, for a lecture on folklore by Dr. John J. Stoudt, of the departments of Philosophy and History of the University of Delaware. Finnish folk songs were sung by a group of residents of the Iron Hill area, who are Finnish by birth or descent.

New Publications of Delaware Interest

"The Course of Peonage in a Slave State," by Richard B. Morris in the *Political Science Quarterly* for June, 1950, LXV, 238-63, is a valuable discussion of compulsory labor, other than slavery, in Delaware before the Civil War. Morris declares that "Delaware, perhaps to an extent unmatched by any other American state, utilized servitude both as a device to control the labor market and as a part of its penology program." Whites and Negroes were sold into servitude in Delaware for debts and crimes far into the nineteenth century; such sales of free Negroes even persisted after slavery was abolished. The conclusion suggests that this continued use of servitude in Delaware explains the survival of "the practice of having prisoners work off fines and costs to private employers." Much of the research is based on apprenticeship indentures and petitions of servants and slaves found in the State Archives, Dover. Under the sponsorship of the American Philosophical Society, the author is making a broad investigation into the nature of labor controls in the slave states.

"The Burning of the Whorekill, 1673," by Leon deValinger, Jr., in the October, 1950, issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,*

LXXIV, 473-79, tells of the savage destruction of Lewes by a party of Marylanders. Included are five depositions of survivors of the episode, whose testi mony was requested by William Penn upon his taking over the territory. The 1673 burning was but one of several destructive attacks upon settlements on the Whorekill during the time when ownership of the Delaware counties was disputed by Lord Baltimore, the Duke of York, and the Dutch.

In the same journal, pp. 500-11, appears "Peter Kalm, Preceptor," an article by Esther Louise Larsen which recounts the teaching career of the famous Swedish traveller in America, and publishes, in translation, a thesis by Daniel A. Backman, one of Kalm's students at the University of Abo, in Finland. The thesis, first published at Abo in 1754, is entitled "The Benefits which our Dear Fatherland might have derived from the Colonies in America formerly called New Sweden."

Two other articles in this magazine should be of interest to Delawareans. Nicholas B. Wainwright tells, pp. 457-72, of "Governor John Blackwell," an old Cromwell adherent, who was governor of William Penn's American domains from 1688 to 1689, a time when the governments of Pennsylvania and Delaware were united. Blackwell, Penn's first governor, found the people so difficult to rule that he soon begged to be relieved of his responsibility. "Dr. Benjamin Rush's Journal of a Trip to Carlisle in 1784," pp. 443-56, edited by Lyman H. Butterfield, contains some information regarding John Dickinson, Rush's companion for part of this trip which was made in order to attend the first meeting of the board of trustees of Dickinson College.

Diamond Jubilee of the Delaware State Grange is a book issued to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of this organization in 1874. Its 114 pages are full of historical information, including a biography of every master of the state grange, a history of each of the individual granges, and accounts of such auxiliaries as the Delaware State Grange Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

Another anniversary publication is one entitled *Twenty-fifth Anniversary, Saint Francis Hospital* and containing a brief historical sketch of that Wilmington hospital founded in 1924 and still conducted by the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis.

A series of articles collectively called "The World of duPont," written by Lawrence P. Lessing, appear in *Fortune* for October, 1950, pp. 99-134. These articles, accompanied by beautiful plant photographs in color, give especial attention to the organization of duPont management, marketing, and research, and to the development of orlon.

Preble's Boys: Commodore Preble and the Birth of American Sea Power, a new book by Fletcher Pratt, published by William Sloane Associates, New York, 1950, has a chapter on Jacob Jones (published separately in the United States Naval Institute *Proceedings* for August, 1950) and another on Thomas Macdonough. Their naval engagements are thrillingly described; the biographical data, however, is incomplete.

In *The Business Review* of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia for August, 1950, is an eight-page study of the broiler industry, entitled "The Broiler Peninsula," which is remarkable for its inclusiveness and is accompanied by a map and several graphs of prices and production. An informal account of some aspects of this same business can be found in *The New Yorker* for December 2, 1950, in an article by Berton Roueché called "Mr. Pack's Chickens."

"The Newton Story," an account of the growth of the Newton enterprises at Bridgeville, apears in *The Threadline,* a publication of the Seaford duPont Nylon plant, for June, 1950.

Additional information continues to be published about the famous surveyors of Delaware's western boundary, Mason and Dixon. The latest articles, both in Vol. XCIV of the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* for June, 1950, are "Jeremiah Dixon (1733-1779)—A Biographical Note," by H. W. Robinson, pp. 272-74, and " 'A Clock Sent Thither by the Royal Society,' " by Thomas D. Cope, pp. 260-68.

An historical analysis of "The American Liberty League, 1934-1940," by Frederick Rudolph, appears in *The American Historical Review,* LVI, 19-33 (1950).

"Watchdog on the Delaware," by George H. Straley, in the October, 1950, issue of *The Philadelphia Forum,* discusses the history of the fort on Pea Patch Island and of the efforts of the Fort Delaware Society to preserve it.

In an analysis of "Anne Parrish's Novels," published in *The University of Kansas City Review,* XVII, 52-59 (1950), Winfield Townley Scott declares Miss Parrish "has achieved some of the sharpest satire and profoundest compassion in contemporary writing." Calling her a "perceptive critic of morals and manners," he states that "her thirteen novels are the conscientious and various experiments of an artist." "Her best novels," he adds, "rank with the most maturely composed novels of our time, and the progressively

sparer architecture of her style has evolved a prose of great organic strength and beauty."

A new life of *Lewis Cass: the Last Jeffersonian,* a one-time resident of Delaware, has been written by Frank B. Woodford and published by the Rutgers University Press, 1950.

The Index of American Design, by Erwin O. Christensen, published by the Macmillan Company, New York, 1950, for the National Gallery of Art, is a record, in text and picture, of American craft history, based on the large collection made in the 1930's by the Federal Art Project. In this beautiful volume Delawareans can find a number of illustrations from their state —with a chronological range from the wrought-iron numerals of the Old Tile House, at New Castle, and a walnut gate-legged table made at Lewes, both of the seventeenth century, to a leather fire hat and a cedar ice cream freezer of the mid-nineteenth century.

Delaware Notes, twenty-third series, 1950, published by the University of Delaware, Newark, contains four articles relating to Delaware history. "Some Aspects of Administrative Reorganization in Delaware," by Paul Dolan, discusses the abortive effort to reorganize the state government of Delaware in 1918. In a paper entitled "Reminiscences of a Delaware Naturalist," Frank Morton Jones tells, first, of the scientific observations and collections made by the Society of Natural History of Delaware and its predecessors, the Delaware Academy of Science, the Botanical Society of Wilmington, and the Ladies' Botanical Society; and, second, of "Darlingtonia episodes," a delightful memoir of his pursuit of an insectivorous plant named for Dr. William Darlington, of West Chester, and described by William M. Canby, of Wilmington. "The Debate on American Independence, July 1, 1776," by John H. Powell, is an exciting account of an important but forgotten episode in which John Dickinson played one of the two major roles. An article by Ernest John Moyne, "August Fredrik Soldan: A Finnish Scholar at Delaware College in 1849-1850," is a centennial study of a professor at Newark whose importance had hitherto been unknown to chroniclers of our local history.

A long chapter entitled "The Delaware Valley and Pennsylvania" in *The Dwellings of Colonial America,* by Thomas Tileston Waterman, published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1950, discusses the earlier architecture of this area with particular attention to the influence of inherited architectural forms. The Amstel house in New Castle

and the Corbit house in Odessa are subjected to more careful analysis than other Delaware dwellings.

Silversmiths of New Jersey, 1700-1825, by Carl M. Williams, published by the George S. MacManus Company, Philadelphia, 1949, includes an account of Peter Alrichs' son, Wessell Alrichs, of New Castle, who worked for a time as a silversmith in Salem.

In *Journals and Journeymen: A Contribution to the History of Early American Newspapers,* by Clarence S. Brigham, published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1950, tribute is paid to the Reverend Samuel Miller, who was reared in Dover, for his *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century,* particularly in reference to his study of American newspapers. References by Brigham are also to be found here to Selleck Osborn and Hezekiah Niles.

Some information regarding the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company may be found in the *Autobiography of the Honorable John K. Kane,* who was the father of Dr. John Kintzing Kane, eminent Wilmington surgeon of the nineteenth century. This volume was privately published in Philadelphia in 1949 and includes a biographical sketch of Dr. Kane.

"Fort Delaware and Its Prisoner-of-War Covers," by Van Dyk MacBride, in *The Sixteenth American Philatelic Congress Book,* October, 1950, is an illustrated account of the postal history of Fort Delaware at the time when it was one of the largest of the Civil War prisons.

The winter, 1950, issue of *Delaware Cavalcade* contains a number of articles of historical interest: an account of Emily P. Bissell and her establishment of the Christmas Seal sale in America, by G. Taggart Evans; "He Started a New War on the Brandywine," the story of Clayton Hoff and the Brandywine Valley Association, by C. A. Weslager; "Helmsman for the Revolution," John Hazzard's part in the crossing of the Delaware before the battle of Trenton; and "Experiment in Unity," a brief account of the Brandywine Manufacturers Sunday School, by Joseph A. L. Errigo. The autumn issue of the same magazine includes "Business Is Booming," an account of Wilmington's growth, by C. A. Weslager.

A tour of the peninsula is described by Catherine Bell Palmer in an article entitled "Delmarva, Gift of the Sea," in the September, 1950, issue of *The National Geographic Magazine,* XCVIII, 367-400. Thirty-six illustrations, most of them in color, embellish the article.

A Treasury of Early American Homes, by Richard Pratt, published by Whittlesey House, New York, 1950, contains four pages of illustrations, largely in color, of New Castle homes, as well as others of the Anchorage, Kennersley, Myrtle Grove, and Bohemia, on the Eastern Shore. These beautiful photographs were all previously used in the *Ladies' Home Journal.*

The Descendants of the Four Grandfathers of Walter Samuel, Jr., and Mary Louise (Wootten) Carpenter, by George Valentine Massey II, published in 1950, is a thorough genealogical study, published in an attractive format.

A History of Mt. Pleasant Methodist Church, near Laurel, by C. W. Dickerson, of Perryville, Maryland, was distributed by the author to the members of the church in November, 1950.